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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

**A QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF
SOCIAL WORK**

Edited by

THE FACULTY OF THE SIR DORABJI TATA GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF SOCIAL WORK, BOMBAY, INDIA

EDITORIAL BOARD

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VOLUME III

1942-1943

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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

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Number 1

PROBLEMS OF RESCUE AND RECLAMATION OF WOMEN IN THE PROVINCE OF BOMBAY

MISS M. K. DAVIS

Though the problems relating to the rescue and reclamation of women and girls cannot be treated adequately within the brief space of an article, the author gives us a very stimulating analysis of the whole problem and makes constructive suggestions for improving the law, and the methods of treatment and control now in practice.

Miss M. K. Davis is the Founder and Superintendent of the Mahila Seva Gram in Poona. Formerly, she was for several years the Secretary of the Children's Aid Society and Superintendent of the Umakhadi Home in Bombay, and before her retirement she was the Chief Inspectress of Certified Schools of the Bombay Government.

ALTHOUGH undoubted progress in social work has been achieved in the Province of Bombay during the last fifteen years with the gradual operation of the Children Act, yet that phase of work dealing with the protection of women is sadly neglected because of the greater needs of boys. The assumption, that work amongst girls is less imperative because official statistics show a much fewer number of girls actually helped, rests on a false premiss. As a matter of fact, the needs of women and girls for protection are much greater, but as the wrongs done to them are more secret, the facts are less blatantly apparent. Although the claims of both sexes for proper protection should, in theory, be equally pressed, it has to be remembered that in practice, a girl, by virtue of her sex, needs greater protection. Furthermore, true though it is that boys and girls are both the potential parents of the next generation, yet the mother's influence in the vast majority of cases is stronger on the children; therefore, her protected growth and development is of greater social significance than that of her mate.

Problems relating to the rescue and reclamation of women and girls constitute a subject far too wide to be adequately treated within the small compass of an article. In the first place, it is impossible to isolate rescue

from preventive work, and in developing sound methods for prevention, a wide programme of social reform is immediately seen to be necessary. Illiteracy and poverty amongst a vast host of women in India make them peculiarly defenceless victims of designing persons. They are easily hoodwinked and, once tricked and lured into strange places, are often terrorised into submission. The working woman has her value as a wage earner and a certain type of man will marry his allowed maximum number of wives in order to get their unpaid work on his fields. On the other hand, a man may maintain irregular relationship with more than one woman in order that his mistresses may keep him and help him to maintain his own wife and family up-country. The insecurity of the position of a kept mistress is seen by the fact that it often becomes the stepping stone to regular prostitution. Bad housing conditions in industrial areas constitute a leading cause for moral degradation in women. Unspeakably over-crowded living arrangements mean that girls and boys grow up with no privacy. The very facts of life stare them in the face and they develop blunted moral susceptibilities. The joint family system may increase such overcrowding, and poverty often leads to the squeezing in of lodgers or boarders which may endanger the morals of the mother or daughters.

Although factory legislation does give protection to women workers, there are few avenues of really safe employment for women. Victimization by jobbers and *mukadams*, in spite of the appointment of Labour Officers, must often occur, and mothers of families engaged in whole-time work only do so through neglecting their children, the potential parents of the next generation. Cases of juveniles dealt with by Juvenile Courts in this Province frequently show the resultant neglect when both parents are wage earners. Caste and communal barriers in India constitute a special problem where inter-caste love affairs occur. Ignorance, fear and poverty generally prevent them from carrying out a civil marriage. In some cases these irregular unions may prove life-long arrangements but frequently the woman finds herself subsequently turned adrift without any legal claim to maintenance and, through her very helplessness, may pass from one irregular union to another and thence, as her attractiveness diminishes, into common prostitution.

Further, child marriage, despite preventive legislation, continues apace. Wives widowed in childhood are frequently debarred from remarriage. They too drift, in many cases, into irregular unions and ultimate prostitution. Girls, married in childhood, find themselves mated to impossible husbands. Fugitive girl wives prove easy victims. The heavy incidence of maternal mortality in India results in the subsequent remarriage of widowers which increases the stepmother problem. Juvenile Court statistics show the frequency in which many boys and girls take to a wandering life on account of the

ill-treatment given by the stepmother, and the destitute girl proves an easy victim. In certain castes, like Maṅg Garudis and Kolhatis, loose living is so rife amongst women that prostitution or a series of irregular unions is common caste practice. The consequent effect on the children is deplorable. In North Kanara, in particular, marriage is taboo in three castes for pseudo-religious reasons. Unreformed male members enjoy a life of comparative idleness, subsisting on their sisters' earnings and the average uneducated woman rapidly passes from irregular unions into common prostitution. In several castes, in this and other ways, women are bound and chained in the thrall of a bad social tradition and, where that tradition rests on a pseudo-religious basis, every effort towards uplift is pilloried as 'sin'. Problems relating to the rescue of women and girls in India are thus stimulated by bad economic conditions and evil social traditions. Real preventive work can only be secured by working out a wide plan of social reform.

A grave menace in all industrial areas in India lies in the marked preponderance in the number of men over women. The practice of men leaving their wives and families to till their land in the native place means that for the greater part of the year they have to live unnatural lives, or seek recompense in irregular sex relationships. Third party profiteers, traffickers, pimps and brothel-keepers eagerly seize the chance of securing a supply to meet the demand, and the net result is an increase of prostitution whereby women, largely through their economic helplessness, sell their own bodies. War time conditions increase the problem as the amassment of troops and munition workers must intensify the demand. In addition, the increased uncertainty of life in war time with the growing menace of air raids and bombardment, encourages a greater recklessness of living for which women ultimately pay the price. Girls keyed up to the claims made upon them in war time enter into irregular unions, anticipating marriage which may never take place. Men may embark on overseas service, leaving behind them women and girls to bear an impossible burden. Their danger lies not so much in the first wrong step taken but in the downward grade to which it often leads.

Public opinion in so far as it touches moral problems itself proves a handicap. The tendency is to condone sex irregularities on the part of men and to condemn them on the part of women. Uneducated public opinion tends to accept prostitution—'the oldest profession in the world'—as a necessary evil. International investigation has shown that prostitution stimulates the demand from men by its very advertisement and temptation and directly leads to widespread traffic in women and children. Much has yet to be done to convince people of the unity of the moral standard for both sexes alike, not by lowering the standards expected of women but by raising those belonging to men.

A scientific approach to problems relating to the rescue and reclamation of women and girls is thus seen to cover a wide programme of social reform and a revision of accepted moral standards. In addition, it is advisable to study the existing law as it affects rescue and preventive work among women and girls in this Province. No less than six recent Acts have to be considered. The Bombay Children Act of 1924 affords equal protection for girls as well as boys and tremendous scope exists within its provisions for both rescue and preventive work. The following facts and figures, however, show that up to the present little active work has been done in respect of girls and that only a strictly limited amount of preventive work has been actually achieved. A close study of the statistics given in the last three Juvenile Branch Administration Reports from 1938 to 1941 shows that against 5,826 boys arrested only 1,198 girls have been dealt with. This means that girls comprise only about one sixth of the total number of arrests. Secondly, despite the fact that under Section 7 (1) subsections *d*, *e* and *f* wide powers exist for the removal of children from bad associations amounting to grave moral danger, only 230 arrests out of 7,019 occurred under these sections. This means that only about one-thirtieth of the children dealt with during the past three years in this Province were taken charge of because they were frequenting the company of thieves and prostitutes, residing in brothels or living in acute moral danger. As no indication is given as to the exact proportion of girls dealt with in this number of arrested juveniles, it is not possible to assess the value of preventive work done for girls. It is, however, hoped that in succeeding Juvenile Branch Administration Reports separate figures will be given for boys and girls. Under Part III of the Children Act wide powers are given for the rescue of victimised children. Certain new offences against children are defined and penalised, and courts are empowered to deal with the child victims of sexual offences covered by Chapter XVI of the Indian Penal Code.

According to the figures given in the Juvenile Administration Reports only 266 definite rescue cases under Part III of the Children Act were dealt with between 1938 and 1941. Of these 251 occurred in Bombay City and only 15 in the whole of the mofussil where apparently this part of the Children Act is still a dead letter. Experienced rescue workers know that the life histories of prostitutes often show that they started on the downward grade as criminally assaulted children, denied help and remedial treatment. It is, therefore, imperative that more forward work by the police should be done in this Province under Part III of the Children Act. The present tendency is to ignore this part of the Act because of the difficult nature of the cases and the amount of police time likely to be involved. It is also hoped that in future Juvenile

Branch Reports figures in respect of boys and girls dealt with under Part III as well as under Part II of the Children Act will be separately given. Juvenile Courts are empowered under the Children Act to commit juveniles to Certified Schools, removing them from dangerous environment and giving them the chance of institutional treatment until they attain 18 years of age. In 1941, however, only 80 girls were committed to institutions under the Children Act against 539 boys. This grave disparity in number is partly due to the greater activity in the arrest of boys but, as pointed out below, the limited character of institutions operating for girls in this Province is also partly to blame.

As an alternative to commitment to institutions, children can be released under supervision or on probation. No less than 748 juveniles were so dealt with in 1940-41 but, again, as no separate figures are given for boys and girls, it is impossible to gauge the value of such work for girls. Release on licence from Certified Schools is a useful means of helping forward rehabilitation in ordinary life. During the past year, out of 150 licences only 15 were in respect of girls. The main reasons for the small amount of rescue and preventive work amongst girls under the Bombay Children Act during the past three years is due to three main causes—lack of time on the part of the police in putting up the more difficult type of cases in which girls are generally involved, lack of suitable specialised institutions for difficult girls and lack of trained Indian women social workers of the right age and type who are properly equipped to do probation work, carry out after-care duties and run institutions on modern lines.

Whereas the Bombay Children Act provides protective treatment for all kinds of children, delinquent and non-delinquent, aged under 16 years, the Bombay Borstal Schools' Act of 1929 deals only with young offenders of both sexes who are between 16 and 21 years of age. This Act allows for their commitment to special Borstal schools in lieu of jail treatment. Although it has been in operation for 13 years, only one boys' Borstal institution has been established at Dharwar and the Act, therefore, remains inoperative in respect of girls. The number of girl offenders in India, belonging to this age group, is restricted but it is essential that steps be taken at an early date to provide at least one recognised girls' Borstal institution as an alternative to jail where adolescent girl prisoners must necessarily meet with bad associations.

The Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929 is an All India measure penalising the arrangement of marriages for girls less than 14 years of age and boys less than 18. It is a matter of great regret that this Act appears to be becoming a dead letter in this Province. It attacks an age-long practice with little parallel effort for the education of public opinion. Its major defect lies in the fact that it only provides for punitive action and allows the marriage,

years of age, fall outside the protection of the Bombay Children Act, so far as new arrests go, despite the fact that they are still minors. This makes it extremely difficult to rescue girls belonging to this age group from immoral parents and guardians. In addition, under the Indian Penal Code there is no section penalising incest as a legal offence. Action for rape would hardly lie as a girl of this age would have attained the age of consent and, if force were used, it would be unlikely that a daughter would be prepared to give evidence against her father or brother in court. It is hoped that, in view of the deeper need of protection for girls, Government would raise the maximum age for arresting girls under the Children Act to 18 years *i. e.* with the attainment of actual majority. Only by such an amendment will it be possible to rescue girls from immoral parents and guardians.

The above facts show that recent progressive social legislation in the Bombay Province remains largely inoperative for various reasons. Chief of these is the inadequacy of proper institutional provision. According to the last Juvenile Branch Administration Report for 1940-41, there are 13 Certified Schools admitting girls on court orders. Of these no less than 11 were established for other purposes before the Children Act came into operation and all admit, in addition, other girls on a private basis. This dual purpose may possibly lead, in certain cases, to court-committed girls being regarded with a certain kind of stigma. Experience has also shown that none of these institutions are properly equipped to deal with the worst type of older adolescent girl occasionally arrested under the Children Act.

As far back as 1933, the State Committee of Inquiry into questions relating to destitute and delinquent children advocated the establishment of one special girls' institution on a cottage basis which might be used for both Children and Borstal Act purposes. Such an institution, run on a cottage basis, allows for a certain amount of inside segregation. It provides for something approaching family life, especially when babies and small boys are admitted. In addition, it allows for greater freedom and domesticity, two factors of considerable importance in girl psychology. There is also less danger in a Cottage Home of girls getting institutionalised and thus proving ready breakdowns when faced with the ordinary conditions of life on discharge. The inclusion of the Borstal age-group in such an institution would not ordinarily constitute dangerous moral association as the average girl offender in India is committed for theft and not street solicitation as in the West. One major defect in existing institutions in this Province today lies in the atmosphere of unreality in which girls live for several years which gravely undermine their training for real life. The complete absence of the other sex is in itself a handicap to adequate moral training.

The purpose of all institutions, which admit rescue cases and girl offenders, should be to build up character and train in responsibility. No girl can be successfully launched out in life unless the institution to which she is committed serves her basic needs. The application of the system of release on licence within the set period of commitment does mitigate to some extent this unreal atmosphere. After-care hostels should be established in certain urban areas where destitute girls, for whom release on licence to parental homes is impossible, can be released on licence within the last year of their commitment period. Such a girls' hostel would have to be planned on a broad basis, allowing for a greater normality of daily life. Girl inmates would be allowed to move about more freely, some going out to daily work, others attending outside senior schools and a few being taught some satisfying craft within the hostel on a paid commission basis. Such an after-care hostel would provide a kind of half-way house between Certified School and complete freedom.

In India, owing to lack of safe avenues of employment for the average type of girl, arrangements have often to be made for marriage on leaving school. This is already being done in some institutions with a real degree of success. Cases, however, do still occur where girls, rescued from bad homes, tend to pass through a Certified School and return to the same old bad environment without marriage being arranged. In this way girls, on completion of the commitment period, may return to bad moral conditions at a far more dangerous age than when they were actually committed. When this occurs, bad parents may utilise the benefit of the school training for immoral purpose and to their own lucrative advantage. Where, however, the system of release on licence is put into practice, a wise woman probation officer should be able to guide parents into choosing good husbands for their daughters so that a happy marriage may crown a successful licence period.

One difficulty which all institutions admitting rescue cases have to face is the incidence of venereal disease. There are, however, some institutional authorities who still have to realise that inadequate methods of diagnosis rather than a really clean bill of health may be the true reason why their health records show a blank in this respect. In all such institutions the regular services of an experienced visiting woman doctor are essential and, where numbers permit, a fully trained nurse should be engaged on a residential basis in order that daily gonorrhoea treatment may be given on the premises. Girls suffering from syphilis can be taken weekly to some local hospital for injection treatment. Day to day medical records have to be maintained. Venereal disease treatment is a lengthy business, extending in some cases to two or three years in duration. In the case of girls over 16 years of age who are not

court committed cases, this presents a special problem as girls admitted on a private basis are unwilling to remain for so long a period. Soviet Russia, according to a recent League of Nations' report, seems to have found a solution to this difficulty. The State has established medical homes, known as prophylacteries, where, during the treatment period, girls are taught a trade and sent out to work. By such means the majority of inmates are willing to remain in the institution for a lengthy period.

Another weakness in rescue homes in this Province lies in their lack of specialised work. This is due to shortage in the actual number of institutions as, owing to lack of alternative facilities, one institution has to admit a variety of cases. Sometimes a home tries to combine the multiple purposes of orphanage, boarding school and rescue home. This is basically unsound. Some institutions have even been known to let themselves be used as private lying-in wards, admitting pregnant women towards the end of their time and allowing them to leave their unwanted babies behind when they take their early discharge. This tends to make rescue work far too easy for the rescued. Such a practice is neither good for the unmarried mother whose moral regeneration can be largely influenced by her love for her child, nor for the baby who, denied breast feeding, frequently dies. It is far better to offer admission to those unmarried mothers who are prepared to stay for 6 or 9 months until the babies can be properly weaned and to promise assistance in the ultimate disposal of such children only on condition that the mothers stay with their babies for that period.

Still another problem faced by the rescue home authorities lies in the fact that certain types admitted may never be fit for discharge. This is seen particularly in the case of subnormal, mentally defective and morally degenerate women. Owing to the complete lack of legislation in India for committing mental defectives to institutions, as well as of the necessary institutions themselves, every moral welfare home finds itself hampered by the increasing number of permanent inmates. At present there appears to be no solution to this problem beyond providing accommodation for such cases which on the moral and mental plane tend to correspond to hospital incurables.

Real character training is the main function of both the Certified School and the Rescue Home. To secure this it is necessary to make provision for definite religious instruction of the right type. This does not mean that any such institution should be run on merely communal lines. Admission should be kept open to all castes and creeds, and arrangements made for the spiritual needs of all. At Mahila Seva Gram, a recently established rescue home at Yerandavna on the outskirts of Poona, definite religious instruction is given daily to all Christian inmates. In addition, every evening a short period of general silent

prayer is arranged whereby each member of the common family is encouraged to worship according to her own personal faith. Arrangements are now being made to invite non-Christian visiting teachers to hold religious classes inside the home for the spiritual welfare of the inmates of other communities. Lastly, it is advisable for a rescue home to function without use of this particular name. This is in the interest of all classes of inmates as such a name tends to label them and prove an obstacle to their later re-absorption by the community.

Rehabilitation is the main purpose of each and every institution of this kind. It means the abandonment of an irregular life and re-entry into the normal working life of the community. Such, in brief, is the definition given in recent League of Nations' publication on the subject. In this Report an analysis is given of the replies received to an international questionnaire. It sums up the opinion that rehabilitation of definite prostitutes is confronted by three major groups of difficulties—social, economic and personal. Although the problem dealt with in this article has a wider connotation i.e. covering not only prostitutes but all kinds of cases seeking admission to the rescue home, these three categories of difficulties appear to stand.

With reference to purely social difficulties, it has to be remembered that public opinion, both in the East and the West, bears heavily on the reformed prostitute, although it has little to say in condemnation of the men with whom relations have taken place. Similarly, the woman with one moral lapse tends to become an object of suspicion and many people fear to give her a fresh chance. In India caste-ridden public opinion is particularly hard on inter-caste love affairs. The partners in an unlegalised union are frequently outcasted; the woman has no legal claim to maintenance, nor security of position, and in some cases ostracism by caste members may be the first step to her moral ruin.

It is probably truer, from the woman's point of view, to consider prostitution as the symptom of an economic rather than a moral problem. As the victim of economic conditions over which she has no control, many a woman sinks into prostitution. Similarly, the rehabilitation of reformed prostitutes in ordinary life presents many economic difficulties. The average woman admitted to a rescue home in the West requires definite training and placement in work if her rehabilitation is to be secured. Outside Soviet Russia, western experience has found the placement of ex-prostitutes in definite work an extremely difficult proposition. In Russia, however, rehabilitation of such women has been undertaken by the State and, as the State is the employer, necessary avenues of training and employment are made forthcoming. For the girl who has lived irregularly but not sunk into prostitution, it is easier to secure work in the West than in the East but the circumstances vary in each case according to her qualifications, past experience, if any, and length of duration of irregular

living. According to the League of Nations Report on rehabilitation, the replies received from India show that a greater number of women escape from prostitution via marriage than is usual in other countries. This statement of opinion is, however, based on the answers received from only three Provincial Governments. The remainder appear to have sent no reply. Nothing is stated as to whether the post-marriage histories of such women have been watched. Unless this is done there is no guarantee that the life of prostitution has actually ended as her husband may be nothing more than a pimp. Marriage can only prove a successful way out of prostitution or irregular living, provided the man is of the right type and that there is genuine love. In addition, the husband should be acquainted with the full facts regarding his wife's past. Secrecy and lies only lead to scandal, quarrelling and later disruption of married life.

The personal factor in rehabilitation in ordinary life is of the utmost importance. Everything ultimately depends upon the character, personality and will to live straight of the woman concerned. The longer the period spent either in prostitution or irregular living, the less is the inclination to work, the less the ability to stick to a job, and more likely dependence upon drink, drugs and shoddy luxuries. The very young girl, on the other hand, presents greater difficulty in another way—the younger the girl and the shorter the period of bad living, the greater may be her obstinate refusal to accept offers of help. The earliest stage often shows a false, glamorous way of life. Flashy pleasures act like a bait, and until actual suffering has been encountered such girls are often quite unwilling to be rescued. The difficult temperament of girls accustomed to live on their emotions is known to all managers of rescue homes. Anything but the loosest kind of discipline is often resented; quarrels and temper fits are frequently encountered owing to complete lack of emotional control. It is often difficult to get regular work out of girls living in a rescue home, so strong is their disinclination to work. Rehabilitation in ordinary life is undoubtedly handicapped by the temperamental waywardness of the girls concerned. In addition, it has to be remembered that physical disease and the lengthy period of medical treatment required are further obstacles in the path of speedy rehabilitation.

Difficulties in the way of rehabilitation have to be faced and efforts made for their mitigation. The importance of rehabilitation lies in the fact that it is the end and be-all of institutional treatment. Every home must work out some scheme of after-care for its passed out girls. It is a wise plan for some member of the staff to supervise girls discharged locally. In other places arrangements should be made for someone to carry out friendly supervision. One major handicap to the successful development of after-care amongst girls

in this Province lies in the acute shortage of whole time, trained women Probation Officers. One sphere of after-care must cover renewed assistance of breakdown cases. A second fall does not necessarily label a girl as unhelpable. It is usually due to the exacting pressure of continued bad circumstances. It is a cruel policy to issue orders that such and such a girl should never be re-admitted to a home as it is quite unknown as under what circumstances further help may be required. The true function of every rescue home is to build up character and help each inmate to stand on her own feet in the outside world.

In conclusion, two things have particularly to be borne in mind. First, it must be clearly recognised that the factor which checks all categories of social service for women and girls in this Province is the dearth of trained women social workers. Training facilities are still too limited, too un-specialised and too theoretical. It is essential that highly educated and cultured Indian women with the right type of personality and definite experience in handling *normal* girls come forward for social training in the right methods of dealing with the abnormal. Such work requires mature judgment and young girls fresh from school or college are too young. India should be prepared to give of her best in the service of those victimised by the worst. Training facilities should include, especially for those women qualifying for work in Certified Schools and Rescue Homes, at least two or three months' training in some up-to-date girls' institution. It is hoped, when work at Mahila Seva Gram has sufficiently stabilised, to arrange for a short intensive practical and residential course suitable for picked women students from an accredited training centre.

Secondly, it is futile to restrict moral welfare work merely to one sex. The demand for irregular sex relationship comes primarily from men. Root causes must be dealt with. Unless men's demand is lessened, supply from women cannot be restricted. Parallel efforts must, therefore, be made for the rescue of boys in moral danger and for their adequate training in self-control. In addition, wide social reform has to be planned for the elimination of those evil conditions which help forward the degradation of women. Last, but not least, public opinion itself has to be educated in order that one moral standard may prevail for both sexes and the burden of the consequences of sexual irregularity may be shared equally by men and not placed as a crushing and overwhelming burden upon helpless women.

THE JUVENILE COURT—HOW IT FUNCTIONS

K. J. KHAMBATA

The practice of having a separate court for juvenile offenders is of recent origin. It is a concrete expression of the State's obligation to the child, and of the value of individualized treatment in rehabilitating the delinquent. In this article the author describes the Juvenile Court and its functions with special reference to Bombay.

Mr. Khambata, who is a Presidency Magistrate, presided over the Juvenile Court in Bombay for sometime and has therefore an intimate knowledge of how the machinery works.

THE subjects of child psychology and child delinquency are of recent origin and study. In former times and until even the 19th century, no distinction used to be made between adult offenders and juvenile offenders, and it was not uncommon even in an advanced country like England to find hundreds of young persons imprisoned even for trifling offences. In 1629 a boy of 8 years was hanged for burning two barns on the ground that he had "malice, revenge, craft and cunning".¹ On another occasion a girl of 13 was burnt for killing her mistress. In the case of *R. v. William York*² (1748), where a boy of 10 years of age was charged with the murder of a younger child, the Judge went so far as to observe that, "though the taking away the life a boy of 10 years old may savour of cruelty, yet as the example of this boy's punishment may be a means of deterring other children from the like offences, and as the sparing this boy merely on account of his age will probably have a quite contrary tendency, in justice to the public, the law ought to take its course, unless there remaineth any doubt touching his guilt"! From the time of Bentham, however, judicial reforms commenced in England, and people began to appreciate more and more the necessity of awarding a different treatment to juvenile offenders from that given to adult offenders. It then began to be recognised that an offence committed by a child of between 7 and 14 years of age, (children under 7 having been always regarded as *doli incapax*, i.e. incapable of committing crimes), should not be regarded as an offence unless it can be made certain that the child had attained sufficient maturity of understanding to judge of the nature and consequences of his conduct on the occasion of which he commits the alleged offence. This exception was incorporated in our Indian Penal Code from the very beginning (1860). It is, however, one thing to recognise that a child under 14 does not commit an offence, in law, unless he has attained a certain maturity of understanding,

¹ Hale's *Pleas of the Crown*, page 25.

² Foster's *Criminal Cases*, page 70.

and another thing to provide for a child-offender, who *has* reached that maturity of understanding, the "punishments" conducive to his reformation.

The first step in this direction was taken when Reformatory Schools were established where juvenile offenders could be sent for training generally and in some specified craft, instead of being incarcerated in the ordinary jail and allowed to associate with the ordinary jail population of habitual thieves and the like. In India, a Reformatory Schools Act was passed in 1876, and Reformatory Schools were established at various places in the country. A further step was, however, taken in England in the early years of this century when the need was felt for instituting *separate courts* for children. The first of Children's Courts was established in England in 1908. The work and importance of these courts have grown considerably since then, and it has been recognised that they play an important part in rebuilding the character and future of a juvenile offender, and rehabilitating him in society. In India pioneer work in this respect was done by the Madras Children's Aid Society whose efforts found legal expression in the Madras Children Act of 1920. In Bombay the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India, organized in 1917, carried on an agitation for legislation. In 1924, the Bombay Children Act was passed. In 1926 a new machinery was set up known as the Children's Aid Society for working the Children Act which was put into operation in 1927. This Act authorizes the establishment of Juvenile Courts at such areas as the Government may think fit. The first of these Courts was the Juvenile Court at Bombay, established in 1927. Since then other Courts have been started at Bandra and Kurla in 1931, at Dharwar and Hubli in 1934, at Poona, Sholapur, Belgaum and Gadag in 1935, at Ahmedabad in 1937, and at Surat in 1941. Satara has since been added to the places in Bombay Presidency where the Act is in force.

The functions of the Juvenile Courts are based upon the principle that the child offender requires a different treatment from what is meted out to an adult offender; that a "child", (who is now defined as a person under 16 years of age), has his character and habits not yet fixed and that these are capable of being remoulded into socially useful and healthy channels; that a child offender is in most cases a victim of poverty and of the unhealthy home and social surroundings in which he has been brought up; and that, therefore, it is possible to rescue him and make him a useful member of society instead of sending him to jail or instead of merely admonishing him and throwing him back into the same surroundings, leaving him to shift for himself and to be chastened (if at all) by contact with a wicked world. A second underlying principle is that the care of children who are destitute and uncared-for by their parents is the concern and duty of the State; it is the State

as a whole which will reap the fruits of its future citizens being self-respecting and disciplined persons, instead of being vagrants and loafers, living upon their wits, and a source of danger to the society and expense to the State. A third underlying principle, which is analogous to the second, is that it is the duty of the State to rescue those children who are in moral danger as, for example, young girls living with prostitutes.

The principles mentioned above are carried into effect by a system of which the five parts are : (a) The Remand Home, (b) The Juvenile Court, (c) Probation, (d) Institutions for the detention, training and care of juveniles, and (e) "After-care", *i.e.*, that protective attention which is afforded to a young person who has been released on license or on the expiry of his term from one of the institutions referred to in (d) above, by the constant supervision of a probation officer who continues contact with him, with the object of rehabilitating him in ordinary life (*e.g.* by seeing that he gets some suitable employment).

It will be too long to discuss the entire subject. I propose to confine myself in this article to the Juvenile Court as it has been operating in Bombay City and of which I have had experience as the presiding Magistrate for a year and a half. But I may state very briefly the purpose of the Remand Home which is the first part of the machinery which is brought into play. As soon as the juvenile offender in Bombay is arrested by the police or a juvenile destitute is picked up, it would be unwise to remand him or her to the ordinary jail even for the brief period of time which must elapse before he or she can be placed before a Magistrate. Such children are, therefore, immediately taken to a separate Home called the *Children's Remand Home*, situated at Umerkhadi. This Remand Home is in charge of the Children's Aid Society and is under the superintendence of the Chief Probation Officer. We have been extremely fortunate in having had as our Superintendents of the Remand Home such persons as Miss M. K. Davis, M.B.E., and after her Miss B. Budden—ladies who, by their personal influence and genuine love for our waifs and strays, by their thorough understanding of the principles of children's aid, and by their admirable spirit of self-sacrifice, have considerably helped in the success of the new scheme for the treatment of juvenile offenders and destitutes.

The Remand Home authorities immediately question the child brought to them and collect the necessary data with regard to the child's history, his home surroundings and social influences. The child is then placed before the Juvenile Court for being dealt with. The Juvenile Court meets in a separate building and not in a regular Court-house. The idea is not to frighten the child into making him appear before a regular Magistrate's Court with all its terrors, but to put him up before a couple of ordinary looking

individuals in almost homely surroundings. The Juvenile Court at Bombay is nothing but a room in the Children's Remand Home at Umerkhandi, in which there is a table at which sit the Magistrates and other tables at which sit the Police Prosecutor, the Chief Probation Officer and her assistants. The Public is strictly excluded from the Court. Also, reports of proceedings of Juvenile Court cannot be published in any papers except with the leave of the Court, (which leave is seldom if ever granted), and then, too, no names, addresses or other particulars are to be given which would enable one to identify the child. The Magistrate comes not in his Court dress but in mufti. If an advocate appears on behalf of any party to the proceedings, he is also expected not to come in the black coat which is the usual garb put on by advocates in courts. An "atmosphere" is thus created as remote as possible from that of ordinary criminal courts.

The Juvenile Court, Bombay, itself consists of a stipendiary Presidency Magistrate and a lady Honorary Presidency Magistrate. There are seven lady Magistrates, and they take part by turn one on each day and two are always in reserve. At other centres, more than one lady Honorary Magistrate (Second Class) sits with the stipendiary First Class Magistrate who is generally the City Magistrate. The stipendiary Magistrate presides. The Rules provide that in case of a difference of opinion between the members of the Bench, the opinion of the stipendiary Magistrate shall prevail. This is a wholesome provision, both because the stipendiary Magistrate is the senior Magistrate and because he is a trained lawyer, whereas the lady Magistrates are lay persons. It would, however, be quite incorrect to assume that lady Magistrates are mere figure-heads. My experience has been that they play a very useful part in the discussions, and their suggestions with regard to the final orders were always accepted by me. I do not recall any case in which my colleague and myself had occasion to differ. An important respect in which the presence of lady Magistrates comes to be appreciated is when young girls are questioned on delicate sex matters. The girls are naturally shy before a male Magistrate, but they discuss such affairs freely with a lady Magistrate.

In Bombay, the Juvenile Court met once a week and it used to be a full and exhausting day's work. But since 1st April 1942 certain changes have taken place in the working of the Juvenile Courts in Bombay City, Bandra and Kurla. Instead of one of the usual Presidency Magistrates presiding at the Juvenile Court in Bombay for one day in the week, the former Lady Superintendent of the Childrens' Home, Miss B. Budden, has been appointed a stipendiary Presidency Magistrate and she now sits (with an Honorary Lady Magistrate) daily in the Juvenile Court at Bombay. She is also invested with the powers of a First Class Magistrate, and she presides for one half-day

in the week in the Juvenile Court at Bandra and for one half-day in the week in the Juvenile Court at Kurla, at both of which places she sits with one or more Honorary Lady Magistrates. At other centres, the Court meets less frequently because the work is comparatively much less. In 1939-40, the Bombay Court had 1,566 cases to deal with, whereas the remaining nine Courts in the Province *combined* had 1,225 cases, (Poona with 368 cases and Ahmedabad with 256 cases, coming next after Bombay).

The cases which come before the Juvenile Court may be divided into two categories :—

- (a) Cases of juvenile offenders, and
- (b) Cases under section 7 of the Children Act, *i.e.* of homeless or destitute children, or of children who are not properly cared for, or are in moral danger, (*e.g.* by reason of the fact that they frequent the company of thieves or prostitutes or reside with prostitutes or are otherwise likely to fall into bad association or to be exposed to moral danger or to enter upon a life of crime).

In the first class of cases, juvenile offenders have to be tried for specific offences committed by them. By far the most important of these offences is theft (mostly, petty theft). In 1939-40, there were (in the whole Province) 715 cases of theft, of 951 cases of offences, (*i.e.* 70%). But various other offences also come up for trial, such as, gambling, assault, criminal breach of trust (in respect of cycles and the like), escaping from lawful custody (particularly from remand homes), travelling without ticket, hawking without permits, and begging in public streets. The last item is on the border-line between the two categories of cases : children found begging and picked up by the police are mostly not charged for the offences of begging but are treated as destitutes (under Section 7). In cases falling under this class, the procedure of a criminal trial has to be followed ; but the Rules have simplified this procedure so that in every case we begin by taking the plea of the child. Where the child pleads not guilty, the case has, of course, to be tried, *i.e.* evidence has to be taken. But the trial is summary and, as far as possible, formalities have to be avoided. I may also state that in 9 cases out of 10, a child pleads guilty. This, I think, should be attributed partly to the innate simplicity of the child-mind, and partly to the moral influence which is brought into play upon the child even during the brief interval that he has been in the Remand Home, *i.e.* the interval between his arrest and the trial. In the case of children who are let out on bail, it has been observed that there is unfortunately a tendency to lie and deny the offence ; but even here the large majority of children straightforwardly admit the offence.

In this connection I may refer to the part played by advocates in the

Juvenile Court. As a rule, the presence of lawyers is not encouraged. The idea of the Juvenile Court is the child's reformation and not punishment, so that the putting up of a defence for the sake of defence would be deplorable. It is desirable that a child should tell the truth out of his own mouth and have a heart to heart talk with the Magistrates. Several times it has happened that an advocate instructed by the child's parents has come into the Court and has begun by saying, "This is an entirely false case. My client is absolutely innocent. The case has been trumped up by so and so", etc. When the child is asked to step forward near the table of the Magistrates and is questioned in a quiet voice as to whether he did not commit the theft or other offence charged against him, and is told that he could tell the truth without any fear, the child pleads guilty straightaway—to the discomfiture of the learned advocate! In the course of a year and a half, some 7 or 8 such cases occurred. On such occasions I made it a point to address the advocate concerned and to impress upon him also the desirability of co-operating with the Court in making the child tell the truth and so display his higher nature, and in getting a suitable order made for the child's own benefit and reformation, instead of the advocate's services being availed of by the child or his parents to take up a contentious and false attitude which an actual trial would show up within a few minutes. The lawyer concerned would then apologise and say that he had no direct contact with the child but had made the statements that he did upon the instructions of the child's parents; and he would then be *really useful* to the Court, *e.g.* by joining the Court in trying to persuade his clients, the parents, that it would be better for the child to be sent to a certified school than to be sent back to his parents as they wished to be done. I have no doubt that at least half a dozen advocates have left the Juvenile Court in my time with a better appreciation of their duties and functions when they are engaged for a child-offender put up before this Court.

An important point with regard to the trial of a juvenile offender is that there is no *conviction*. The Court simply records that the child is "found to have committed" such and such an offence. There is no conviction in the legal sense, and no disability arising from a legal conviction attaches to the child in any event. Formerly, the police, according to their usual system, used to take the finger-prints of the child, but in 1936 an amendment was made in the Children Act as a result of which the words "conviction" and "convicted" were meticulously omitted from the Act, and since then the taking of a child's finger prints have been ordered to be discontinued. The result, therefore, is that an offence committed by a child is not regarded as an offence in the strict sense of the term, and no stigma attaches to the man in after-life for any follies or wrongs which he might have committed in his childhood days. He is,

therefore, enabled to start in life with a clean state.

The more important work of the Court, however, begins, *after* it has recorded, at the end of the trial, that a child has committed an offence. The Magistrate then turns to the Chief Probation Officer or her assistants who are present in the Court and asks them about the history of the child. The Probation Officer has usually collected a good deal of information by questioning the child, by questioning his parents or guardian, and sometimes by visiting the place of abode of the child and noting the surrounding circumstances. After hearing the Probation Officer and the Chief Probation Officer, the Magistrate turns to the parents of the child. It is quite necessary to secure the attendance of one or both parents, or guardian of the child at the trial, and there is a special provision in the Act to secure this attendance. The Magistrate explains to the parents what order is proposed to be made in the case ; and the parents are heard in the matter. The point of view of the parents is thus taken into consideration before the Court makes any final order with regard to the child; and the parents' sentiments are respected, but are not allowed to override the main consideration that such order should be made as is best in the child's interest. •

The modes of punishment, or I should rather say "the methods of dealing with children who have been found to have committed offences", are many and various. If the offence is of a trifling nature and the report of the Probation Officer shows that the home-conditions are satisfactory, the child is merely discharged after an admonition. This, however, is not very frequent. The more frequent method is that of committing the child back to the care of his parents or guardian or other fit person from whom a bond (generally in the sum of Rs. 100 without surety) is taken containing several stipulations, and the child is placed under the supervision of one of the Probation Officers named by the Court. The usual conditions in the bond are that the child will be properly taken care of, will be regularly sent to school and will not be taken out of the Court's jurisdiction without permission; that the child's residence will not be changed without informing the Probation Officer, that any misbehaviour or the abscondence of the child will be forthwith reported, that the Probation Officer will be given all necessary assistance in performing his duties of supervision, and that the child will be produced in Court at the end of the period of probation (usually 1 year) or whenever required. This method (of committing the child to the care of a fit person, with bond, and supervision) is most useful for several reasons. First, the child is kept under his normal home influences. Secondly, the parents also derive satisfaction from the fact that the child is with them and not sent to a certified school. Thirdly, there is a moral check both upon the child and the parent by reason of the supervision

exercised by the Probation Officer, and the legal check upon the parent by reason of his bond. Parental responsibility is thus not undermined. Fourthly, there is the practical consideration that the accommodation in our certified schools is very limited and the schools are mostly full up all the time. Few vacancies occur each week, and these vacancies should be reserved for children who are destitutes and therefore more immediately in need of being taken care of at State expense at an institute than those children who have parents able to earn and take care of them. This, however, does not mean that all juvenile offenders are handed back to parents and only destitutes are sent to institutions. As matter of fact, where the offence or the previous history shows gross depravity of mind, or where the child has been brought up a second or a third time before the Juvenile Court for the same or a different type of offence, or where the child's home conditions are unsatisfactory, institutional treatment has to be resorted to.

A third important method is, (as already implied from what is stated above), that of committing the offender to a certified school. This is to be for a period of not less than two years in the case of youthful offenders who, at the date of the order, are over the age of 15 years, and not less than 3 years in the case of other youthful offenders. A fairly long period is prescribed in order that the child may have sufficient opportunity of getting the necessary training and discipline. Detention for short periods of 2 or 3 months will be perfectly useless for then the child would not have stayed long enough to learn anything or to imbibe the virtues of discipline, comradeship, co-operation, give-and-take, and tolerance towards other children. Another method is caning; but it is resorted to only where it is believed that the other methods would not be effective or appropriate. Still another method is to order the payment of a fine. For example, when some damage has been done to the Complainant or some loss has been occasioned to him, and it becomes necessary to compensate him, the Court may order the payment of a fine if that would not operate as a hardship and would be just under the circumstances. But the Court has the power of ordering that the *parent* or *guardian* should pay the fine instead of the child. If the child is under 14, the Court cannot order the child to pay a fine in any event. Imprisonment is not altogether excluded by the Act. A juvenile offender of 14 years or over may be sentenced to a term of imprisonment if the Court certifies that he is of so unruly or depraved a character that he is not a fit person to be sent to a certified school and that none of the other methods in which the case may legally be dealt with is suitable. However, in actual practice no juvenile offender is sent to a prison. During the period I was at the Juvenile Court, none was sent by that Court; but there was one instance of a lad of over 15 years of age having been committed to the

High Court Sessions on a charge of rape, who was sentenced by Mr. Justice Lokur to a term of imprisonment. That sentence, however, created a stir in the Children's Aid Society and allied circles. However, the case was a peculiar one and the exceptional step taken by the learned Judge was probably not inappropriate.

Hitherto I have discussed the first category of cases which come up before Juvenile Courts, *viz.*, the trial of youthful offenders. The second category of cases deals with the *protective aspect* of the Court. Destitute, homeless and uncared-for children and children in moral danger are put up before the Court on applications under Section 7 of the Act in order to be dealt with in a suitable manner. Children found begging are generally put up under S. 7. And in such cases it is not unusual to find parents coming and pestering the Court, and weeping and making all sorts of fuss to get the child back. But the Magistrate has to be firm about the matter and should not allow himself to be led away by any sentimental considerations. After considering the report of the Probation Officer as to the home-conditions of the child and hearing the parents, the Court orders such children to be detained in one or the other of the institutions for the care of Juveniles (referred to in the next paragraph). In a few cases, however, the child is committed back to the care of his parent or relative upon a bond being taken from such parent or relative, and the supervision of a Probation Officer is superadded.

In connection with this category of cases, I may mention that several times blind or crippled children found begging in the streets are put up before the Court. In each case it requires some thought to decide upon the appropriate institution to which the child may be committed. In selection of the institution, the Court has to have due regard to the religion of the child and must see that it is sent to an institution where facilities for instruction in his religion are afforded. Blind children are sent to the Happy Home for the Blind, the Victoria Memorial School for the Blind or to the Dadar School for the Blind. Deaf-mutes are sent to one or the other of the schools for such children in Bombay. Muslim girls are as far as possible accommodated in the Bawla Orphanage. Hindu girls are likewise accommodated in the Shradhanand Ashram, run by the Hindu Women's Rescue Home Society and situated at Matunga. Christian girls are sent to the St. Catherine's Home at Andheri, or the Salvation Army Girls' Home at Sion. The Byramji Jeejeebhoy Home at Matunga is for both boys and girls, but the boys must be below 10 years of age. As the children from that Home are sent to outside schools and as that Home is a mixed one and the premises are not sufficiently secure, it is necessary that no child who is sexually precocious or who has truant tendencies should be sent there. Then, of course, there are the general schools like the David

Sassoon Industrial School and the Children's Home at Chembur where the majority of the boys are sent up. In case of children whose parents are at Poona or places near there, arrangements are sometimes made to send them to Yeravda Industrial School ; but that school cannot be crowded up by the Bombay Court and that institution has to be left for the use of the Poona Juvenile Court. Arrangements are sometimes made to send children from other provinces and states, like Madras and the Hyderabad State, to the authorities of those places, provided they are willing to make accommodation for the children in institutions under their control. This repatriation is desirable so that the children may find themselves more or less in the surroundings of their native place, and be mixed with children speaking their own native tongue.

I may also mention that a large number of children are truants from their native place. The city of Bombay is a powerful magnet for children with truant tendencies. Scores of them come to Bombay every year, travelling ticketless without exception. Cases of such children are investigated in great detail by the Chief Probation Officer, and their parents or guardians at the native place are communicated with through the police of the district concerned. Now and again it happens that the child having come to Bombay and having tasted the bitter fruits of loafing about in a large friendless city, becomes repentant and begs to be sent back to his parents. In such cases the Chief Probation Officer recommends, and the Court generally accepts her recommendation, that the child should be sent back to his parent upcountry. A railway (or steamer) ticket is given to the child, and a Police Constable sees to it that he gets into the proper train. The P. C. requests the guard or a Police Constable travelling in the train to keep an eye on the child. In the majority of cases of repatriation the child goes back home all right. An intimation from the child's parents is received by the Chief Probation Officer about the safe arrival of the child. But in a few cases it does happen that a child gets down at Thana or Kalyan or Bassein and again finds his way back to Bombay. If such a child is picked up a second time, then the only way to deal with him is to send him to a certified school.

Two serious problems confronting the Court are : (i) children suffering from venereal diseases, and (ii) mentally defective children. V. D. children (for want of any better arrangement) would be remanded for long periods to the Remand Home, and they would be treated there or sent to the J. J. Hospital from time to time for treatment, until finally cured. Mentally defective children used to be kept in a separate part of the Remand Home, but a separate home for M. D. children has now been opened at Chembur. These V. D. and M. D. children have been the special concern of the Lady Superintendents of the Remand Home ; and we all owe a deep debt of gratitude to the former

Superintendents for their constant tender care of such children.

I have discussed above the two categories of cases which come up before the Juvenile Court. There is also a third class of cases, but this is of little importance compared to the other two classes. That class is of uncontrollable children. Off and on an exasperated parent brings up his child before the Juvenile Court and narrates a long tale of the child's misdeeds, and states that he desires that the child should be sent to a certified school. Considering that our certified schools are so fearfully crowded, one cannot easily accede to the parent's request. What I used to do in such cases was to give admonition and advice to the child who, by the very fact of his being put up before the Magistrate, had already recovered a part of his sanity. The child also used to be questioned (after first sending the parent out of the Court-room), so that he might freely tell the Magistrate what his difficulties or grievances might be. Often it would be discovered that all the fault was not on the child's part. In a tough case, I would order the child to be remanded to the Children's Home for a fortnight or more. This brief curtailment of his liberty would often be sufficient to make the naughty child realise the consequences of his bad conduct and make him repentant. Thereafter, and in other cases in the very beginning, the solution would be to give advice both to the parent and child, to send the child back with his parent, and to request one of our Probation Officers to supervise the child informally. I say "informally" because under section 8 of the Act (which deals with uncontrollable children), the only power given to the Court is to send the child to a certified school; there is no power given to impose supervision. This is a defect in the Act. But in practice we got round it by informal supervision. Occasionally, where it was believed that a psychiatric treatment would be of benefit, the parent was advised to take the child to the Child Guidance Clinic of the Tata Graduate School, situated at Nagpada.

In conclusion, I may refer to the observation made by Mr. O. H. Starte, C.B.E., I.C.S., in his Report on the Reformation of Child Delinquents—"The Juvenile Court is the pivot on which the whole Act turns The operation of the Act in spirit, rather than in mere letter, depends on the character of the work of the Juvenile Court." It has also been rightly observed, "The child's appearance before the Juvenile Court may well constitute the cross-roads in his life—the right or wrong turning depending upon the Court's order. And it is all the more necessary, therefore, for Juvenile Courts to take a broad and sympathetic view of their duties under the Act."

LEISURE AND RECREATION

E. ASIRVATHAM

Since the tone of any society depends largely on the quality of its leisure, the author points out in this article the importance of leisure and the evils of its improper use; he makes a plea for planned leisure-time and recreational activities which, he maintains, should be so planned as to contribute to the complete development of every part of man's complex nature.

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NO discussion of a new social order can leave out of account the problem of leisure. Leisure has been defined as "the time at the disposal of the complete man." It is "opportunity for disinterested activity." Dean Inge rightly says: "The soul is dyed the colour of its leisure thoughts." Leisure is necessary not only for the realisation of individual personality, but also for the culture and civilisation of every society. C. D. Burns aptly describes leisure as the "seed-plot of civilisation." An ancient proverb says: "Wisdom cometh by opportunity of leisure." It is "the germinating time for art and philosophy" and affords opportunity for the appreciation of the finer things of life. Ancient China realised the importance of giving its scholars ample leisure which they utilised in working out an abiding philosophy of life. In the highly industrialised countries of the West to-day, where money-making and comfortable living are a craze, there is a high degree of civilisation, as the term is interpreted by themselves, but a low level of culture, partly because they have not yet learnt the right use of leisure.

In the modern industrial society, it is usual to distinguish between work and leisure. The term 'work' is used to cover any activity in which a man is engaged in order to make a living, whereas the term 'leisure' is used to describe what he does with himself at other times. In earlier societies, however, such a distinction was not observed. Even to-day in a non-industrial and non-mechanised society, work and leisure often go together. Where, as it sometimes happens in India, the whole family is engaged in all the processes of a piece of work such as the carding of cotton, spinning it, and weaving it into cloth, it is difficult to say where work ends and leisure begins. The same merging of leisure into work is true in the case of every true artist. 'Art for art's sake' is the ideal for which he lives and works.

But in the case of a large mass of industrial workers and even agriculturists who use machinery on a large scale, the distinction between 'work' and 'leisure' is a vital one and cannot be slurred over. Even in this sphere, it is

possible to find individuals who are fortunate in having struck upon types of work which give them the fullest possible opportunity for the expression of their personalities. But the vast bulk of industrial workers are obliged to do a fraction of some dull and monotonous piece of work, such as the making of the head of a pin, times without number. One of the serious criticisms of the industrial system of to-day is the deadening, devitalising, and dehumanising effect which it has upon the millions who are called upon to do a small fraction of a mechanical piece of work, which is unrelated to their life and its purposes and which they are obliged to do merely for the sake of a living. They have no chance of seeing the work completed by their own hands or of making it for their own use or profit. It is manufactured on a mammoth scale with the aid of large scale machinery, primarily for the cash returns of a body of unseen and unknown shareholders of a company. It is true that a great many of these people have become so mechanised that the idea of expressing themselves through the various processes of work has deserted them altogether. But it is possible to reverse this order by a different type of industrial organisation and give workers real joy and meaning in work. Till such time is reached, we must plan for the leisure of large masses of people. In undertaking this task it is necessary to remember that leisure does not mean idleness. It is the use of one's free time in such a manner as to contribute to his true well-being and happiness. By the extensive use of machinery and the harnessing of mechanical power, the industrial West has made ample spare time possible for its toiling masses. But as yet people have not learnt its proper use.

Leisure and recreation do not mean one and the same thing. For our purpose we may regard 'leisure' as the genus of which 'recreation' is a species. There are many other ways of utilising leisure besides engaging oneself in recreation, although in popular conversation the two terms tend to be used interchangeably. The primary purpose of recreation is to "re-create" oneself in body, mind, and spirit; and it is with this object in view that we should judge the use to which a person puts his leisure. If recreation is used by one in getting dead drunk or in dancing till very late at night or in playing cards till the small hours of the morning, it cannot be said that the person concerned has "re-created" himself. If anything, he has made himself less fit for the work of the day following the enjoyment. It is said, with a certain amount of justification, that in some offices the day following every important public holiday is also to be declared a holiday in order to enable their employers to get over the after effects of their undue enjoyment of the holiday.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the same kind of recreation cannot do good to everybody. It depends on various conditions, such as the

person's temperament and upbringing, the nature of his work, and the environment in which he lives, moves, and has his being. Thus, in the case of a manual labourer, bodily rest may in many cases be the best form of recreation, while to a person who works with his mind all the time, bodily labour may mean rest. "Change of occupation, and not merely cessation of occupation, has a remarkable effect in restoring poise and tone." Our society should make it possible, say for a philosopher to work in the garden every now and then, while his own gardener sits under the tree and philosophises. It is a welcome sign of the times that with a view to relieving industrial workers of the monotonous nature of their work, attempts are being made to vary their work by shifting them periodically from one branch to another.

If leisure is to be of maximum value to the maximum number of people, it is necessary to classify people as well as their interests in life. In olden times leisure was the privilege of the few. The aristocrat, freed from the necessity of earning his living, very often spent his time in idleness or in trivialities. Thomas Carlyle, who was a great apostle of work and glorified it, claimed that a well-to-do member of the British aristocracy, with an income of £200,000 a year, consumed the whole fruit of 6,666 men's labour and did nothing for it, but to "kill partridges." While this statement may be true generally, in spite of the characteristic exaggeration of Carlyle's language, it must be admitted that the English nobility in general has tried to put into practice the principle of *Noblesse Oblige*. For generations now it has rendered conspicuous service to the national and political life of the country and to its education and culture, without indulging in conspicuous waste and luxury. It has built up a tradition of service and has acted as the carrier of what is good in the past.

When we turn from the English aristocracy to the Princely Order of India, it must be confessed that a good many of that Order make a thoroughly improper use of their leisure and of public money. The riotous living of some of them in foreign lands and the maladministration which prevails in several of their States make one wonder whether the time has not come for cutting down their freedom and emoluments to the narrowest limits possible. It is true that there are a few among them to whom the general well-being and economic prosperity of their subjects is a matter of utmost concern, but such Princes are few and far between. The leisure time of many of them is spent in expensive and unnecessary continental tours and in travelling back and forth to the various summer and winter capitals of India, basking in the sunshine of Governors and Viceroys. They spend lavishly on entertaining high government officials and others of their own rank, while their own people wallow in poverty. The sports in which some of them indulge, such as the

killing of tigers and leopards which have been carefully preserved in their jungles by a State department and are driven to the mouth of their guns to be shot on specified occasions and at the appointed time, are wasteful. In order that their Royal Highnesses may indulge in game hunting, polo, golf and the like, a great deal of valuable land has to remain uncultivated.

What the Princes do on a large scale, the Zamindars and taluqdars do, within limits. Several of them are absentee landlords fleecing their tenants to the utmost degree possible and contributing very little to their prosperity. Instead of giving their time and attention to the scientific methods of cultivation, the improvement of cattle, and social uplift, they waste their substance in litigation and extravagant living. They have not yet learnt the truth of the principle of *Noblesse Oblige*.

When we pass from the Princes and the landed aristocracy to other classes, we find that they too have an inadequate understanding of the meaning of leisure. A great many of our successful merchants and traders live for money and die for it. The fact that many of them march to an early grave on account of over-work, unrelieved by the proper use of leisure, does not seem to deter them from their suicidal course. Recently the Ceylon Government had to pass a Shop Ordinance limiting the hours of work, particularly with a view to checking the unfair competition offered by Indian merchants and shopkeepers, who at the risk of their health, were keeping their places of business open from early morning till late at night. The trouble with many of our well-to-do business men is that they have not yet learned the art of enjoying life in the best manner possible. Even such a gentle and harmless form of recreation as daily walk is not to their liking. They prefer to go about in their comfortable cars all the time, forgetting the primitive art of walking. Some of them go to summer resorts and attend horse races, blindly imitating those higher up in the social scale. They have no time for any hobby or for such vigorous games as hockey, cricket, and tennis or for health-giving exercises such as rowing and riding. Many of them are not even patrons of music, painting, sculpture, poetry or literature. Their one and only God of worship is Mammon.

Among the educated classes of India, especially of the younger generation, there is a greater appreciation of the importance of leisure. But in the case of a good many, it is only a theoretical appreciation. The large band of lawyers and politicians the country abounds in turn to politics as the elixir of life. In a subject country like India it is perhaps inevitable. Till national freedom is won, everything else seems to be of minor importance. But this does not mean that we should take life so seriously as to exclude from it all forms of leisure and recreation. One chief trouble with a good many of our

educated people is that they talk shop everywhere. They cannot be at ease with themselves when they are off their work, unless they carry with them the worries of their office or desk wherever they go. In recent years a large number of recreation clubs have been organised in towns and cities where educated men, and sometimes women, can spend their afternoons and evenings, playing tennis, billiards, cards, etc. and reading newspapers, magazines and light literature.

These recreation clubs are for the most part patronised by government officers, often of the "gazetted" rank, rising professional men such as doctors and lawyers, and a few business men. Members of the Civil Service who through the years have built up a myth of efficiency and paternal care for the suffering poor also have a variety of opportunity for leisure and recreation. Their office hours are short and they enjoy a large number of holidays and leave of one kind or another on full pay, half pay, etc.

When we turn from people of this kind to the thousands of clerks and others like them working in government and semi-government offices and private firms and companies, the situation is indeed pitiable. They are overworked and under-paid, a good many of them contracting such diseases as tuberculosis and dying a premature death. Although many of them are University graduates and have a taste for art, literature, music, outdoor games, and the like, the exacting nature of their work and the pittance they are paid for it make anything like the enjoyment of leisure an idle dream. No new social order for India can rest satisfied with the low position to which the huge army of educated clerks and others like them are reduced. So long as the present order of things continues, there cannot be a widespread enjoyment of leisure.

Turning our attention now to the working classes in cities and the common people in our villages, we find that the struggle for existence is so keen that there is little or no time for recreation of any kind. When mill workers have to walk some five to six miles a day even before sunrise after having cooked their food for the day and attended to the children and return to their humble abodes late in the evening after sunset and cook another meal we do not expect them to bother about leisure or recreation. The same situation is true as regards village women who walk ten to fifteen miles a day in order to sell two to three annas worth of buttermilk, firewood or grass in the nearest town. The grinding poverty of the masses is so intense that the question of leisure becomes altogether irrelevant, if not a cruel joke.

Both industrial workers in cities at times of unemployment and agricultural workers during the off season have periods of enforced leisure, but they have not been trained to utilise it to the best advantage possible. Much

of the time is spent in idle gossip, meaningless wandering here and there, and ruinous litigation. It is not yet realised either by the public or those in authority that if the spare time of these people could be properly organised and utilised, it would immensely add to their enjoyment as well as to the productivity and general well-being of the country. Just because a great many of them find time hanging on their hands at a time of economic depression on periodic unemployment, it does not mean that they are incapable of enjoying leisure. Anyone who is acquainted with our villages knows of the important part played by *bhajan*s, theatrical performances, indigenous outdoor games and the like in the life of the villagers from time immemorial. With the decline of rural life and the drawing away of the talents to the city and towns, there has been also a marked decline in the capacity to utilise leisure. One of the urgent needs of the hour is, therefore, to resuscitate the village life and create a renewed interest in leisure-time activities. Leisure should be so used as to illumine one's work.

Two important facts which emerge from what we have said above are that leisure ought not to remain the monopoly of a special class or classes and that it should be carefully planned and organised on a national scale. Early civilisations, such as the Egyptian, the Chinese, the Indian and the Greek, reached a high stage of development by providing leisure to a few select classes and compelling the masses to work for them. Such a state of affairs is not in consonance with the democratic ideal of our day. We do not believe in a society which reaches a high level of culture and civilisation by allowing a few people to climb on the shoulders of the masses. Such a society is a "slave society" and its foundations are weak. What we want to-day is an equitable distribution of leisure so as to avoid the extremes of social parasitism on the one hand and undue concern with one's own daily task for the sake of eking out a livelihood on the other. Where the Greeks used slave-labour to provide leisure for a select few, we may use machinery on a large scale to provide leisure for all.

In the democratic society of our dream, everybody should have work and everybody should enjoy leisure. There is no justification for the so-called leisured class which does not have to depend on its own efforts for its living—such classes as large landed proprietors, rentiers, holders of sinecures, and hangers-on at courts and public offices. Work is worship. If there are Princes and others who are not obliged to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, justice demands that they should spend themselves unstintingly in the service of their people and patronise arts and sciences. According to Theodore Roosevelt, "Those who work neither with their brains nor with their hands are a menace to the public safety."

If in an ideal social order there is no place for social parasites, neither is there room for grinding poverty. So long as we have vast extremes of income and inherited wealth, there is no scope for the enjoyment of leisure by large sections of the population. A recent American writer observes that a man who has to work fourteen hours a day or eight hours under a speed-up system has really no leisure. What little free time and recreation he has are just enough to enable him to return again to toil. His life is one round of monotonous work, slaving for the benefit of unknown and unseen persons.

To relieve this situation, it is suggested by the advocates of Gandhian economy that we should revive cottage industry on a vast scale so that everybody will be engaged in doing the various processes of a unified piece of work himself, for his own personal profit without exploiting anybody in the bargain. These advocates claim that so far as India is concerned heavy industries such as railways, mines, the manufacture of motor cars and machinery should be undertaken by the State on a *service* basis, while cottage industries should be worked on a small scale, with a limited use of machinery, on a *profit* basis. The advantages claimed for this arrangement are that it will give every individual zest in his work, abolish the artificial distinction between work and leisure, and render unnecessary the exploitation of helpless people and weaker nations.

There is undoubtedly much force in all these contentions. But they do not completely solve the problem of leisure. Those engaged in government-owned heavy industries would certainly require a large measure of leisure. Even those working for their own profit under conditions of cottage industry would require leisure. They may derive a great deal of joy from their work and be able to find satisfaction for the creative impulse in them, such as artisans. Notwithstanding all that, they would require opportunity to get away from themselves and their daily worries and work. Not all work is capable of being transformed into perfect art. Therefore, the planning of leisure in our modern society is of utmost importance.

The proper starting point in training people for the enjoyment of leisure is the home. The Catholics express a profound truth when they say "Give us the child until he is seven and you may have him for the rest of his life." It is during this period that habits, attitudes and dispositions are formed which are likely to last all through life. Therefore, it is necessary that during this early stage parents should train children to understand and appreciate the uses of leisure. The kindergarten, the play method in pedagogy, and learning things by doing them—all have their value. Parents themselves must have the spirit of play in them and realise the profound truth that play is not a waste of time. During this period parents can instil in children

a love for hobbies, such as gardening, poultry-raising, bee-keeping, drawing, painting, stamp-collecting, etc. Children may be encouraged to take long walks enjoying the marvellous beauties of nature.

If the foundations are laid by the home and the school, the nation can build on them. Schools should be encouraged by means of special grants and other such means to instill in their children a keenness for "hiking" or rambling and travel by cycle, train and motor bus to places of historical interest and natural beauty. Every school should have a neatly laid out garden worked by the pupils themselves. There should be facilities for learning carpentry, blacksmithy, pottery, farming, paper-making, tailoring, typewriting, printing, etc., depending upon the local circumstances. A child should be encouraged to use his hands and fingers much more than is the case at present. While at school every child should cultivate some simple and inexpensive hobby, which he can keep up all through life and which can give him immeasurable delight when he grows up and is weighted with the burdens of the household and his work. Every school should have ample facilities for athletics, and no child should be given his school leaving certificate unless he has put in a minimum number of hours of attendance at games and sports of various kinds. Movements such as the Boy-Scouts and Girl Guides should be actively encouraged so long as they are free from sectarianism or suggestions of imperialism, and do everything possible to teach boys and girls the art of social living.

The Scout Movement has three advantages:—(1) It brings the children into close contact with nature; (2) it provides companionship in adventure and (3) it promotes social equality. The cinema should be widely used by schools or groups of schools inasmuch as it is a quick and vivid way of learning a great deal about the world. Travel films, films of wild life, films depicting great stories in prose and poetry, and films exhibiting the historical monuments and beauty spots of India can all be used to great advantage. The radio also can come to the aid of the school in educating as well as entertaining the pupil. Care should be taken to exclude propaganda of every description.

Uniforms, regulations, and marchings in groups have their value, but they are apt to be overdone. They may destroy spontaneity in the play of children. In organising the leisure of children utmost care should be taken not to crush individuality and originality. While the West has made great advances in the art of comfortable living, it has produced too many standardised men and women who conform to a type in matters of food, dress, taste, general outlook and politics, and even love-making. Undue conformity and conventionality are some of the worst features of life in the West. We want our people to be normal and natural, to be themselves.

When we turn from children to youth, we need to remember that youth do not want to be treated like children. Young people to-day are much more independent and assertive than the youth of the last generation. The forms of recreation in which they are most interested are the cinema, commercialised sports and athletics, and mass meetings of a political character. Also, with the general removal of barriers between sexes, young men and women seek the companionship of each other and like to spend their leisure hours together. The older generation may shake its head in disapproval at this kind of innovation, but it cannot stem the tide. The right thing is to place high ideals before youth, especially when they are in their teens when hero-worship and lofty idealism make a powerful appeal, and trust them to do the right thing. Indigenous movements, such as the Bratachari movement, aiming at the building of strong and healthy bodies in the service of the country should be encouraged. So also should such organisations as the University Training Corps, if we are convinced of the rightness of war as a "cruel necessity" in defending one's country against an aggressor.

Youth may be guided in selecting the right type of moving pictures and those forms of recreation which will really "recreate" them. The guiding principles should be entertainment as well as enlightenment. There should be a network of national play-fields and parks throughout the country subsidised by the State. Instead of contenting themselves with witnessing somebody else play cricket, football, hockey, or tennis, every young man, particularly in our schools and colleges, should be encouraged to play these games himself, supplementing them by inexpensive indigenous games. It is unfortunate that, in spite of Mahatma Gandhi's pleading, communal cricket is patronised in India to-day. Sports should know no distinctions of caste, community or race. Communal sports should receive no countenance whatever. There should be musical and dramatic societies in every school and college, and in every village and *mohylla* in the city. Those who have a taste for photography should be encouraged to become amateur photographers and become members of photographic societies. Young people should be made to realise their responsibility towards the poor and unfortunate. Teachers and elders should inspire them to take an active interest in some form or other of social service by their own personal example.

There should be a network of libraries, reading rooms and research centres all over the country open to everybody who can utilise them. The admission fee to them should be next to nothing so that even the literate labourer and enterprising peasant can find his way to them. In this respect Soviet Russia has made great headway. For years now British Universities have conducted evening extension courses mainly for the benefit of workmen

in scientific and technical subjects, literature, art and civics. Such endeavour might usefully be undertaken by Indian Universities too. But even before that, adult education should be undertaken on such a large scale as to wipe out illiteracy in the course of a generation. Agricultural Colleges, research centres and radio stations are disseminating very useful knowledge to the farmers and agriculturists, but such information should be more closely related to actual village conditions than is the case at present. We should build on the common experience of the people of the village. There should be a rural reconstruction officer in every village, organising the spare time activities of the villagers.

As said earlier, the common people in our villages, towns and cities cannot be persuaded to make time for leisure and recreation till their bare human needs are met. Some of the indirect methods of meeting these needs are providing for free public education and public health, and an extensive use of State-aided insurance against unemployment, old age, accidents, premature widowhood, etc. The social services provided out of public funds should be so large and varied that one will be relieved of the necessity of devoting every minute of his time and every ounce of his energy to provide himself and those dependent on him the bare necessities of physical existence. Common property in the form of public parks, libraries, recreation centres, musical halls and the like should be so large and social services, such as free education, free medicine and subsidised housing, should be so abundant that there will be no need for more than a limited amount of private property. In other words, our immediate goal should be "Common Property Large, Private Property Small."

In order that common people may utilise their leisure hours properly, we need both positive and negative measures. Government should compel every factory and mill owner to provide ample recreation facilities for his employees. The employees themselves through their recognised organisations, such as the Trade Unions, should supplement the efforts made by the employers. Non-sectarian and non-political organisations which aim at the improvement of the conditions of the people, such as the Servants of India Society, might be given every possible inducement to arrange a well-thought out programme of sports, outdoor and indoor games, moving pictures, and simple talks on civic rights and duties, on public health and sanitation, as well as musical, dramatic and radio programmes.

As for the negative measures, both the State and public opinion should co-operate in abolishing such evils as drunkenness, use of narcotics, gambling and prostitution. Gambling is assuming serious proportions in India. The instinct of getting something for nothing is deep-rooted in man, and gambling

caters to that instinct. Even villagers gamble on cock fights and bull fights, partly because they have no other excitement. In industrial centres, gambling is becoming a serious menace and poor people lose vast sums of honestly-earned money on it. A good many take to gambling in connection with horse racing, which is an evil introduced into the country by the foreigner, and one of the first duties of a national government would be to abolish horse-racing or at least make it penal for people to bet on horses.

Prostitution is another social evil which needs to be tackled resolutely. Nietzsche spoke truly when he said : "The mother of debauchery is not joy, but joylessness." The experience of the Western countries is that with the provision of a positive recreation programme, there has been a visible decline in the amount of drunkenness and prostitution. The same is likely to be true of India, too, if the recreation programme we have outlined above is put into effect. At the same time, direct measures should be adopted in the eradication of prostitution and the traffic in women and children.

In planning for the leisure activities of people, we need to provide for the two opposing moods of men—the desire for excitement and the desire for quiet. Some people, especially certain classes of workers, require more excitement than others. But every one should have opportunity for the exercise of both excitement and quiet. Mere excitement is not good for man. It is likely to make him a nervous wreck. All that it does is to provide an escape mechanism for the time being. It should be supplemented by quiet, which is indispensable to thought and reflection. Picture going, witnessing an exciting football match, etc. may advantageously be supplemented by long hours of quiet walk into the country or the outskirts of a city, away from the din and noise of people. We must not lose sight of the fact that man is a creature who "thinks before and after". A man who does not take time to think and reflect is no better than a brute. Even in married relations there should be opportunity for each partner to be by himself or herself so that one can think and reflect. The husband and wife should have many common as well as some individual interests. C. D. Burns is right when he says : "A wife who is only a wife is a bore, just as a husband who is only a husband is generally a beast."

In promoting companionship and providing opportunities for the enjoyment of one's spare time, we should plan on having a chain of cafes and restaurants which will provide simple and wholesome food and drink in attractive surroundings and at a reasonable price. The present practice of only men going to restaurants, leaving their families behind, should be discouraged. On holidays and other such occasions the whole family may want to have their meals together in one of these cafes or restaurants. Such eating places

should undertake a diet revolution, utilising the services of nutrition experts. The whole family can enjoy leisure together not only by having a few of their meals in good cafes and restaurants but also by going out together on short trips and for picnics. Week-ends could be spent together in quiet, out-of-the-way places in tents or *dak* bungalows.

In spite of their aberrations, it is not desirable to put down commercialised recreation altogether. What is needed is the proper supervision and control of it by the State. In India one rejoices to find that much of our entertainment and recreation is connected with religious festivals, frequently in a beautiful natural setting on the banks of sacred rivers, on the sea beach or on hill tops. While there is scope for abuses here as well, it is much less than in places where people assemble merely for enjoyment, provided by commercial agencies. People travel great distances, often by foot, through fields and valleys, hills and mountains in order to take part in a religious festival. In undertaking such a trip they not only satisfy their religious cravings but also their aesthetic sense. It is regrettable that we have not yet utilised these religious festivals to the fullest extent possible in the interest of recreation and popular education.

Thanks to the life-long efforts of the late Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, public taste in India has been raised to a high level. We are no longer satisfied with a blind imitation of western art, music and dance. We have come to realise that in drawing, painting, sculpture, music, dance and drama we can hold our own with any other country in the world. What Tagore has done for the re-orientation of education in an artistic setting, Uday Shanker and his followers are doing for dance. The late Mr. G. S. Dutt has popularised physical culture through the Bratachari movement. The movie industry in India is becoming more dignified as a result of well-educated and respectable young men and women adopting a film career. All this shows that the amateur and semi-professional can do a great deal in developing public taste along right lines.

In the planning of leisure, literary, cultural, and athletic societies as well as village and caste organisations can play a vital part. Owing to our lopsided education, several of our organisations and associations devote more time to literary activities than to cultural activities or to the building up of the body. We should so change our emphasis that every part of man's complex nature will have facilities provided for its complete development. We should remember that the tone of any society depends largely on the quality of its leisure.

FAMILY DISORGANISATION IN WAR TIME

B. H. MEHTA

In these days when throughout the world the family as the basic unit of human social organisation is threatened by the sinister forces of war, it is the first duty of the Government and welfare agencies to take every possible measure to preserve its essential homogeneity and unity. In this article Dr. Mehta points out that the human family builds its sure foundations on a permanent physical environment and suggests various means of dealing with the problems of evacuees, refugees and of mass migrations of populations.

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THOUGH war has been the most disturbing factor of civilisation, it has played a vital part in human evolution. The forces of evolution come into play due to the element of change, and war is the predecessor of most important changes. It is responsible for affecting not only the destinies of nations and societies but also the most intimate human relations. This is true from earliest times when tribal warfare led to the exchange of women and the reconstitution of human herds. Wars of the post-industrial revolution period which influenced larger areas than ever known in human history had also most devastating influence on intimate human relations and the institution of the family.

In the industrial age, though the family as a unit of human social organisation met with severe challenge, and through the play of various forces its very existence had been threatened, it has remained the most vital organisation, promising security, opportunity and happiness to the individual. It still continues to function as the undisputed protector and promoter of the welfare of the child. After the Russian Revolution it was believed by some that the family has had its day, and with the advent of the all powerful and protecting State, its influence and presence were hardly necessary. But thanks especially to M. Kurpaskaya, the wife of Lenin, and the eager willingness of the Russians to learn quickly from experience, the need of the family was realised, and in spite of some radical changes, the family still is the unit of Russian Society.

Now almost throughout the world the human family is threatened by more potent and sinister forces; and political idealism and exigencies have thrown the most vital source of human happiness and security into oblivion. Therefore, even in the midst of the greatest war in human history, all peoples must be kept alive to the threat to the health, unity and vitality of the family in every part of the globe. When man wantonly disturbs human institutions that are vital to the forces of Nature, he will have to be prepared to pay a

price in terms of human insecurity, misery and deterioration, the extent of which we cannot adequately appreciate at present.

It is the duty of all sections of humanity, even at a time when the very existence of homes is at stake, to take measures to see that the human family is, as far as possible, allowed to maintain its homogeneity, unity and serviceability to its members. Wherever the family is found threatened, stranded, broken or unprotected, welfare agencies should take every possible measure to provide a helping hand to see that members of a family in distress are able to cling together, and find food and shelter till more secure times come to build up the broken tissues and revive the vitality and potentiality of the family.

Even in peace time the soldier in the army and members of the other fighting forces have presented a major family problem. As long as the soldier is allowed to live with his family in barracks the problem is eliminated, but fighting forces that remain away from home are deprived of the immense civilising influences of the home. In war time when recruitment begins the problem is intensified manifold as male members leave their wives and children for duty from which they may not return. The handicap caused by the absence of the chief male member of the family cannot be overcome, but some consolation and sense of security are felt by the whole family if contact by correspondence and communication is maintained. International conventions permit this contact to be maintained between prisoners and members of their family. Over and above the question of contact and communication, the more important problem is that of the maintenance of the family of the soldier. As long as communications exist, the transference of cash from the fighting front to the home front is possible, but in many cases serious delays, difficulties and accidents are experienced. The entire field of contact between the soldier and his family, though a primary concern of the military, should be looked after by an official or non-official welfare agency.

The Family and Evacuation.—Migrations of large sections of human population have been known to follow conquests throughout human history. It is only during the present war that the threat to civil population from the invader has been greater than ever before and that has compelled the removal of families or parts of it, especially children, to distant and safe areas. This raises the question whether evacuation is in the real interest of the family. Evacuation is bound to provide a greater sense of safety and security except perhaps during the journey to the place of safety. On reaching its destination the family has to live what the sociologist will consider a new type of existence. The affinity of man to his physical environment is realised by the scientist, and the consequences of a change from one place to another, from one climate to another, from one social group to another, from one religious atmosphere to

another are profound indeed. This is a problem of adaptability. The contact with a new environment will lead to a new type of social interaction. If it is not congenial it may lead to conflict instead of co-operation ; then adaptation to the new environment will be rendered more difficult. In war time a family is rarely fortunate to transplant itself as a whole. If the male adult or leader of the family is absent, adaptation will become far more difficult than it would be otherwise. Members of evacuated families must receive from the State and Welfare Agencies every possible aid in order to enable them to adapt themselves to their new surroundings.

The evacuation of children is a very difficult problem. The child is a dependent and defenceless human being. Its entire strength and security is the result of its human environment which is available at its best through the natural biological families. Parents are most interested in providing the right atmosphere and environment for the proper growth of the child and opportunity for its life functions. Separation of the child from home will cause fundamental psychological disturbances. The parent-child emotional relations will suffer. Even in most congenial surroundings the absence of the home will be felt, and the child will face problems that are usually the lot of the orphan or the adopted child.

In a country like India extreme precaution is necessary before any Government or parents of children decide to evacuate them from a threatened city or village to a place of safety. Evacuation of a child from the home to a known environment is not dangerous, but quite contrary is the case when the child is transferred alone or with inadequate company to an unknown destination. Ordinarily it should be possible for the unevacuated members of the family to establish contact with the evacuated ones in times of danger. If this is rendered impossible under unexpected circumstances, then misery of an extent which cannot be imagined may overtake the separated members, especially the evacuees. Still greater suffering may follow if by chance the residence of the evacuees is itself threatened by war danger and the evacuees become refugees. On account of these circumstances the evacuation of women and children to a known destination where protection may be guaranteed under all circumstances is desirable, but it is unwise to evacuate women and children to unknown destinations where they may fall victims to unexpected circumstances. It is still more unwise in a country like India to evacuate children alone to an unknown destination without the company of at least one of its parents. A deeper consideration and analysis of circumstances will reveal that danger of actual invasion will be less compared to the suffering that overtakes human beings in unknown surroundings.

Supervision of the new environment of the evacuated child by the

State or a Welfare Agency recognised by the State is imperative. The wishes and needs of the evacuated child must receive close attention. The care, education and treatment of the child at the hands of strangers, however reliable, should be carefully watched in the interest of the child, as well as the society. In the best interests of children it is desirable that they should be evacuated to institutions or well organised special camps run under qualified and experienced welfare workers or camp organisers who will be capable of solving the many problems that will face the evacuees under unknown and unexpected circumstances. Such camps are even desirable for whole families, for herd transplantation of human groups from one place to another offers greater individual as well as social security.

The problems of the evacuated child during the period of the war are important, but still more important will be the problem faced by it at the end of the war. The child during the period of its stay away from home, will be sustained by a hope to return to its original environment. It will probably maintain some kind of contact with the original home through the goodwill of the State or of the co-operating States. But all children will not be fortunate to return to a safe and unbroken home at the end of the war. The most unfortunate will not have any home to return to at all. The more fortunate will return to homes more or less handicapped in various ways. The readjustment of the child once more to its original and natural surroundings will depend upon the nature of conditions that will exist after the war. In any case the State everywhere will be called upon to do much more for the isolated and stranded child, and for homes deprived of property and protectors.

When whole families are made to evacuate generally from urban to rural areas, the most fortunate are those who have already some shelter or land in the village. From this point of view Indian cities are more fortunate, for Indian urban populations do not always prefer complete and permanent settlement in the city. Going back to the village they will go back to their kith and kin, or at least to populations to which they will not be strangers. There will not be any serious consequences to the standard of life, and adaptation to the new environment and circumstances will not be difficult. Perhaps only the children will suffer as they will not have adequate and efficient facilities for education in the village. From the point of view of the whole country, the villages will be greatly benefited by the infiltration amongst them of urban population with its wider outlook, more cultivated mind, and critical attitude towards dead traditions.

The case is somewhat different with regard to families who have no roots in the village. Such families will have to choose their new homes with the utmost care and caution. They will naturally prefer not to go very far from the city, where there are other members of their own family and community,

and where their existing standard of life will be the least impaired. Families who evacuate to distant places without any consideration of important factors like social environment, possibilities of finding work, and safety of life and property may find themselves stranded or amongst non-co-operative or even hostile elements. Such families must receive the care, guidance and help of local welfare agencies, and if large numbers evacuate to places where they are strangers, special rural welfare agencies should be created to help the evacuees.

On the whole the Indian village is known for its hospitality and kindness to strangers, but circumstances may become difficult in times of invasion or disturbance to law and order, or the need of effecting a second evacuation from the site of the adopted residence. Under such conditions widely distributed and efficient local authorities and welfare workers alone can render effective assistance. The goodwill and willingness to assist fellowmen in distress will not be found wanting anywhere, but in the backward state of our countryside lack of organisation, training, co-ordinated effort will lead to some confusion, unless existing authorities take sufficient measures to create the nucleus of an agency which will have its representation in districts and towns to act in cases of emergency.

The Problem of Refugees.—However complicated the problem of evacuees may be, the most difficult of problems during war time is the problem of refugees. The consequences of war time migrations last for a long time and if migrations are on a vast scale they may affect the social structure of human groups and larger communities. Family disorganisation also takes place extensively amongst populations that are compelled to shift from invaded or conquered areas. Members of the family may be lost and the family may entirely lose its stable moorings and drift into poverty, destitution or immorality.

The refugee problem needs to be dealt with generally and whilst certain aspects may not affect the family directly the mass treatment of the refugee problem is bound to eventually affect the vitality and unity of the family. The refugee problem has existed in the world from earliest times. Even during tribal warfare entire tribes were torn from their physical moorings and compelled to scatter themselves, facing hunger and hardship, struggling for mere survival. On a mass scale the continent of Europe has known the largest number of refugees, and the Jews as a community have suffered grave hardships in their search for a habitable abode. In India refugee populations have roamed the land from one corner to another under the stress of conquest and war, but more so as a consequence of famine and distress. The unforgettable famine of 1900 led to the migrations of lacs of people from famine stricken areas to cities and more fertile lands.

The refugee problem is not merely a problem of movement of popula-

tion from one place to another. The human family builds its sure foundation on a permanent physical environment. The association of man and his environment creates a corresponding economic, social, religious and political life. When the individual is torn from the place of his original domicile, the family receives a shock which affects the entire social structure. The standard of life is suddenly and radically altered, economic life is disorganised, social contacts are lost and political problems arise. Man in migration is only capable of carrying with him the minimum of moveable properties, accumulated mass of traditions, his language and his religious beliefs and hereditary and acquired talents and skill. With only these to fall back upon he has to begin a new life and a new family structure which will gradually lead to a new social pattern. This difficult migration, however hard, cruel and full of suffering it may appear, has sometimes contributed to human evolution. Social interaction between strangers, leading to fundamental contacts, may produce co-operation or conflict, but eventually in that manner human history is made, nations are formed, and fresh life and blood is added to human culture.

India has so far not tasted the horrors of migrations under modern war time conditions. Unfortunate Burma, always a part of India, has been the first to experience something of this social earthquake that leads to vast movements of masses of people. Temporarily they dislocate political and social life, and expose thousands of human beings to the horrors of homelessness, and of personal insecurity, loss of property and the travails of wanderings over distant and unknown lands to meet and mingle with new and strange peoples. Gradually these moving masses will settle down, unhappy, bewildered to face a new and low standard of life, to build a new life whose pattern will depend upon the co-operation and goodwill of strangers.

We hope that the rest of India may be spared the experience of problems which are created by the unordered regulations of the political and economic life of nations. But it is essential to prepare for the worst and arrange for the regular movements of vast populations with a view not only to alleviate immediate hardships, but also to prepare for protecting the family and preventing the disorganisation of society. In this connection, welfare work falls into two main divisions: (1) Emergency aid for refugees; and (2) measures dealing with the refugee problem after the war. Several vital measures need to be taken for providing for eventualities and not the least important is educating the public in methods of systematic evacuation. Evacuation of families at zero hour and to unknown destinations is the least desirable as this leads to chaos not only causing local disorganisation but also interfering with military movements,

Ordered evacuation of any place will generally fall into four stages :—

- (1) Evacuation of ineffectives—women, children, old persons and the sick who have a place to go to in rural areas.
- (2) Evacuation of effective non-combatant population when danger is very probable and is likely to occur in a very short time.
- (3) Compulsory evacuation of the entire civic population.
- (4) Evacuation of the fighting forces, if at all necessary.

The time for each of the four types of evacuation can only be known to and given by a government which alone is aware of the real military situation. This is a most serious responsibility on the part of the government and miscalculations are likely to cause great disorder and hardships. It is desirable that families should keep ready plans for orderly migrations in war times. This plan should especially make certain the destination (or even alternative destinations), alternative routes to be taken for reaching the destination, the mode of travelling (a dislocation of traffic or jamming of roads may upset calculations) and the composition of the party.

In determining safety areas very distant places or those inhabited by strange groups should be avoided. High roads are the least safe and comfortable to travel and minor roads will prove more helpful and secure, and the military will then have the freedom to use major routes. Migration by car, carriage or rail is mainly possible in the first two stages, and major evacuation in the third stage will have to be done on foot. Large well organised refugee parties will be more secure and capable of confronting hardships than lonely families trying to move on by themselves.

The duty of facilitating migrations falls upon the government and local bodies and also on public and private agencies. The main facilities required are speedy and well organised rail transport, clear roads and provision for food, water, medical aid, information and guidance. The tragedy of the Indian refugees from Burma must have brought home to all what is likely to happen when proper preliminary measures are not taken by all concerned. Wherever alternative routes to different main directions are possible it should be desirable to reserve separate roads for the military and the civil population. Where this is not possible, special staff must be kept on roads to control and regulate traffic, clear roads when they are required by the military, and organise siding stations or camps where moving populations can be kept, fed and treated till the road is clear. In a country like India, where the masses are not educated, proper instructions and information ought to be provided beforehand through the medium of the press.

For the sake of populations that have no possible destination to reach, refugee camps, managed by the State or public agency are necessary. These

camps should be scattered all along main routes and should be thoroughly planned and organised beforehand under State supervision. Protection of health and prevention of disease, supply of good simple food and adequate water supply, and protection of life and property should be the least expected for any refugee camp. Moreover refugee camps may provide both short term and long term shelter according to the need of the refugees.

It may be premature to write about refugee problems after the war and it may be confidently expected that any civilised State will take necessary measures to deal with a problem of that gravity and importance, and yet it will not be out of place here to indicate the broad lines on which the problem may be dealt with. It becomes the first duty of government to settle unsettled populations and therefore families will be required to be repatriated or settled at some place. The next serious problem will be that of unemployment and poverty to be dealt with by a network of Employment Exchanges and a system of financial support by means of loans, subsidies or doles. The family will then have to be adjusted to the new circumstances and surroundings by means of individualized study of each family and its special needs.

THE CRIMINAL IN PRISON AND AFTER *

J. M. KUMARAPPA

Since the criminal is not born a criminal but is made one, the main purpose of imprisonment should be to retrain him for normal life. But our irrational methods of treatment of prisoners make the prison really a school for training criminals. In this article Dr. Kumarappa exposes the evils of life within the prison, points out the problems the ex-convict faces on release and suggests radical changes in our penal system for the prevention of crime.

CRIME is as old as society itself, and its control and prevention has been a challenge to every age. Crime is defined as "any act or omission to act, punishable by society as a violation of its law". Technically, this is a correct statement but there are other points which make it only the skeleton of a definition. For instance, what is considered a crime by one community may not be regarded as such by others. What comes under the category of crime in one period may not be so in another. Then again some unlawful acts are not seriously antisocial while some seriously antisocial acts are not unlawful. Furthermore, some offences often entail severe punishment while certain more serious offences elicit light or no punishment at all. Then there are also some misdeeds which are definitely harmful to society and yet are not regarded as crime.

This situation makes it clear that an act in itself is not a crime unless it is recognized and punished by society as a wrong against itself or its members. In other words, society through conscious action determines what it wishes or does not wish its members to do. Any act in contravention with its legal requirements is an offence, and the violators are offenders against society. Even vice under certain conditions becomes a crime. While crime involves acts which are detrimental to public welfare, vice consists of acts injurious to the person. But whenever the social consequences of a vice become so serious that much harm may result to others in addition to the offender himself, then society may feel impelled to legislate against the act, thus making it a crime.

It is clear, therefore, that there is no crime where there is no law. In the earlier and simpler stages of society, the individual was frequently restrained from doing certain things, the doing of which was held to be against the best interests of the group. And now with the ever increasing complexity of society, the individual has not only been restrained from certain acts but

* The series of three broadcast talks given by Dr. Kumarappa in the month of April from the Bombay Station of All India Radio on "Offenders Against Society" in connection with the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Bombay Presidency Released Prisoners' Aid Society form the basis of this article.—*Ed.*

compelled to do other things, the failure to do which is believed to be against public welfare. Naturally, as enactments passed by legislatures increase, the number and variety of crimes also increase. This view brings out two essential elements, namely, that there is a belief that a certain type of act is socially harmful, and that the group which has the power to enforce its belief lays down certain penalties for the offender.

In order to grade punishments, crimes are classified into different groups according to their seriousness. There are crimes against property, religion, the family, group morals, public peace and order, and the conservation of the resources of society. These are often brought under two broad divisions, felony and misdemeanor. Felonies are the more serious transgressions which are punishable with death or rigorous imprisonment. Misdemeanors are the lesser crimes and are ordinarily punished with fine or simple imprisonment, or both. Thus the difference between a felony and a misdemeanor is primarily in the degree of the offence. The misdemeanant is not really speaking a criminal, for his offence is simple and pardonable. It is the felons and their acts of criminality that cause grave concern to society.

A comparative study of criminal law discloses that, since social values change with changes in cultural evolution, new crimes appear while some old ones disappear from statute books. Further, it reveals that crime is relative and that the sort of conduct penalized by law depends upon what legislators regard as requiring legal protection. In other words, it shows that crime is not something fixed or immutable. This recognition of the relativity of crime has helped to turn our attention from crime to the criminal. During the last century thousands of social scientists have been engaged in a search for the causative factors in crime. They have compared criminals with noncriminals with respect to intelligence, physical traits, emotional stability, personality traits, habits, mental abnormalities, social attitudes and environment. They have studied the fluctuation of crimes in relation to economic, climatic and cultural conditions.

As a result of their ceaseless research, criminals are not now regarded as forming a distinct species of humanity, or as possessing special physiognomic or mental traits by which they could be weeded out from society. Law-breakers come from all the different social and economic strata of society, and among them are the rich and poor, the feeble-minded and intelligent, the strong and weak, men and women. Then what is it, one may ask, that goes to make up a criminal? It is now believed that mental defect, suggestibility, physical defects, certain mental diseases, mental conflicts, deficiencies of the "moral sense", excessive vitality, habit-forming drugs, broken homes, irreligion, lack of recreational facilities, juvenile "gangs", poverty, child labour, mobility,

unemployment and the like might cause an individual to commit crime.

Crime is not the result of a single factor; it "springs from a wide variety and usually from a multiplicity of alternative and converging influences." Social psychologists maintain that human nature is the result of the interaction between the heredity of the individual and the environment in which he is placed. If both these factors are good, then such individuals develop exemplary character. If they are bad, then delinquent or criminal tendencies may be developed. *Criminality is not inherited; it is a product of heredity and environment.* To state it differently, crime is understood "as a function not merely of either physiological or psychical endowment but of personality reactions to social stimuli." No child, for example, is so depraved at birth that it must inevitably become a criminal; for the child is so plastic that a good home and an efficient community could keep him from delinquency. Similarly, no child is so law-abiding that he could not possibly be made a criminal by a bad environment.

The personal causes of crime are those which exist in the individual but which ordinarily do not give rise to an antisocial act unless there is something in the environment to stimulate it. Individuals fail to adjust to the standards of conduct of civilized society because of their inherent weakness in their hereditary endowments or their emotional make up in the setting of the family, or of their peculiar attitudes, dispositions and tensions. Every human being is motivated by a craving for security, response, recognition and new experience. And it is in seeking fulfilment of these through socially unacceptable channels that emotional and mental conflicts arise.

Criminality in such cases—and even in cases of feeble-mindedness and chronic diseases—is in one sense a symptom of the more fundamental disorder. Assault by a person suffering from an epileptic seizure, a mania, or intoxication by alcohol is still objectively a "crime against the person." Theft or prostitution by a feeble-minded person, attempted suicide by the victim of chronic disease, illegal possession of drugs or liquors by addicts are technically crimes, and such symptomatic actions swell the figures of criminal offences. Though it is incorrect to state that the handicap is the "cause" of the crime, it is nevertheless prominent among the associated factors in each such individual case whether in providing the susceptibility, the propensity or the incentive.

Similarly, larceny may under certain conditions be symptomatic of poverty. Juvenile delinquency is a common symptom of the broken home. Sex crimes may be associated with peculiarities in family relationships. Rape and brutality develop in conditions which war forces upon invading armies. Vagrancy may be an outgrowth of migration in search of employment. Although the percentage of the mentally abnormal and subnormal who are

criminals is higher than the percentage of normal persons, it should be noted that the vast majority of mental deviates are not criminal. Handicaps and poverty operate less as motives to crime than as conditioning factors.

Among the more important factors leading to the individual's predisposition toward crime may be mentioned heredity, education and training, habits and occupation. Although today we do not accept the theory of a distinct criminal type, nor the theory of transmission of acquired characteristics, we do recognize that heredity plays an important part in determining criminal tendencies. *It is not that the criminal inherits a predisposition toward crime but that he inherits certain physical and mental weaknesses which often lead to crime under the stress and strain of certain kinds of environmental influences.*

While education does not prevent crime, still there is no question but that education and training are strong deterrent factors. The individual with little or no preparation for making a living, who has not been disciplined in self-control and lacks the strengthening influences of moral and religious training, will far more frequently be found among the criminal classes than the one whom education and training have fitted to take his moral place in society. Then again an individual normally strong may become so weakened through habits as to yield readily to criminal impulses. *Any habit which tends to weaken the will power or to deaden the moral sensibilities is a cause of crime.* Habits of idleness undoubtedly lead many to follow a life of crime rather than one of honest effort. Habits of intemperance—the use of narcotics, drugs and alcoholic drinks—weaken the will power, blunt the conscience and lower the power of resistance.

Although occupation is a minor factor, it has its influence in that certain occupations offer temptations of a particular kind. Some of them are carried on under conditions and amid surroundings which would tend to weaken the moral fibre of any individual. Though it is the individual who commits crime, we are coming more and more to recognize that social and economic conditions have great influence upon the individual and his behaviour. Environment largely determines an individual's line of conduct, particularly during his childhood—the period of growth and development. Of the influences in his environment that of the home has undoubtedly the greatest bearing on the individual's future life and activities. The lack of the socializing influence of the home greatly increases delinquency among children. When we consider the number of children who are brought up in our large cities, deprived of home life and surrounded by all manner of vicious and immoral influences, the wonder is that more of them do not become criminals.

When economic conditions are favourable, when there is plenty of work to be had at good wages, there is apt to be less crime than in periods of

economic depression. When there is unemployment, increase in want and misery, individuals are tempted to commit petty thefts and robberies, and sometimes even to commit crimes of violence. *Idleness, with its accompanying discontent, is always conducive to crime.* Those who view crime as a personal problem list basic elements in biological and mental characteristics as causes and others who look at it as a social problem regard crime as a natural deviation from standards accepted as normal by the majority. The modern view, however, treats crime as a social product. But in our country criminal law, stressing freedom of the will, intent, responsibility, guilt and innocence has not yet begun to support this new interpretation.

What has been noted so far about criminals and the many and varied causes which lead them to violate the law make it abundantly clear that we cannot rely upon any one remedy to eliminate crime. The programme of crime prevention is inextricably bound up with measures to prevent other social ills. Social life does not run in compartments so that one set of causes may be charged with responsibility for poverty, a second for family maladjustments, a third for crime and so on. Social life is an indivisible whole and the various problems are its pathological aspects. *Crime has not been and will not be prevented by punishment.* To prevent crime it is necessary not only to reform the individual offender but also adopt measures both individual and social to save others from becoming criminals.

II

While the above social interpretation calls for rational methods of treatment of the offender, our method, which is medieval, lays more emphasis upon the legal aspect of crime and punishment than upon the criminal as a person. The punishments authorized by the Indian Penal Code for convicted offenders include transportation, penal servitude, rigorous and simple imprisonment. Our lawyers and judges tell us that the penal system claims to protect society by removing from it the dangerous criminal element; secondly, to deter others from committing crimes and thirdly to reform the prisoner. But our penal system has, unfortunately, failed to achieve these results. The first function, it may be stated, is performed, if at all, very inadequately because many of the most dangerous criminals are clever enough to avoid being caught or convicted. As for the second, most criminologists agree that fear of punishment does not have the deterrent effect which it is assumed to have. This is evident from the fact that almost half of the prison population is made up of repeaters. Recidivism is, in fact, a strikingly depressing feature of crime in India. As for reformation, there is hardly anything done in this direction in prisons as they are administered today.

The failure of our prisons in this respect is not surprising to any one who is familiar with the methods of prison discipline and the conditions of life in our jails. For the benefit of those of my readers who have never been inside a jail as offenders or as visitors, I may briefly state some of its outstanding features. To begin with, life within the prison is abnormal, the inmates being entirely of one sex and shut off from all contact with the outside world. The usual associations of family and friends are wholly absent. Each man wishes to regain his liberty and is resentful of the forces that placed him behind the bars. Hardly any of the good influences which play on people in normal society operate upon them. Further, though the prison population is made up of a great variety of people, seldom is there any attempt to classify them and provide treatment according to their several needs. The thief, the rapist, the capable, the inefficient, the feeble-minded, the intelligent, the average casual offender, those who mean to do well, those who intend to continue law-breaking after release—all these are herded together within the prison walls.

But this is not all. In the prison the life of the inmate is controlled for him; he moves and lives in obedience to innumerable rules and regulations which leave him no chance for initiative or judgment. Such regimented life and routine tend to unfit the prisoner for life after discharge in a normal but complex society. This, in fact, is one of the worst features of our prison administration. While the disastrous influences of our prison system put the most severe strain upon even a thoroughly normal person, its cruelty most often has its worst effects upon those who are physically or mentally abnormal. These emotionally unstable persons are denied upon entry into prison the assertion or enjoyment of the more important and basic human urges and impulses. Normal sociability is severely curtailed; self-assertion is practically denied; interesting work is rarely provided; play and recreation, if existent at all, are grotesquely inadequate in spite of the fact that mental hygiene stresses the therapeutic values of play and work of absorbing interest.

Moreover, while within the prison the sex impulse is rendered abnormally active due to the blocking of the other forms of emotional and intellectual expression which might otherwise drain off or sublimate sex desires, there is no desirable outlet for its normal functioning. Hence the sex urge necessarily finds expression in all sorts of pathological conduct. If one were to plan an institution designed to promote sexual degeneracy, he would arrive at nothing better than the modern prison. *Apart from the vile and degrading conditions, the most deplorable result is that these sex perversions result in different kinds of psychic abnormality and emotional instability, many of which emerge in definite criminal compulsions. Thus the sexual results of prison life, which have*

been practically ignored by both conventional criminologists and reformers, would by themselves alone suffice to train up a veritable crop of degenerates and potential criminals.

The effects of all these abnormalities of prison life are greatly intensified by the regimentation and cruelty inevitable in the conventional prison administration of today. Is it any wonder then if prison life results in various types of explosion such as psychoses, neuroses, sex perversions, physical and moral disintegration ? The whole plan and psychology of prison administration are based chiefly upon the desire to repress and intimidate the prisoner in order that he may in this way feel very directly and definitely the displeasure of society over his violation of its rules and his threat to its safety. *And the spirit of vengeance has so dominated the entire penal system that the prisoner is sentenced in consideration of nothing else but the conformity of his offence to the specific definition of his crime as it appears in the penal code, and the application of the sentence prescribed therein by the court to his individual case.* This system takes no account whatsoever of the fact that criminality is a product of heredity and environment ; it makes no attempt to arrange his punishment so that the least amount of damage will be done not only to him but also to others.

Any penal system which confines its social delinquents on the theory of punishment solely, or for the purpose of deterring other would-be violators through fear, without considering the mental, moral, physical or social deficiency that has caused the violation, and which does not provide at least a sincere attempt to remedy the handicap, or require reasonable proof of its abatement before release is neither fair nor just to the prisoner. Similarly, any penal system which legally determines certain persons to be socially or mentally deficient, deprives them of every normal opportunity of self-development and improvement, and, in addition, exposes them to the contagion of the vices and weaknesses of a whole colony of socially deficient persons living under the extreme abnormal environment which our prisons provide, and then releases them on an unsuspecting public is neither just nor fair to society. Therefore, if the critics declare emphatically that our penal system has failed to fulfil its purposes, and that our prisons should be abolished, it is not without reason.

I, for one, do not contend that society can afford to ignore criminal conduct ; my attempt is only to make it clear that ours is a strangely ineffective method of dealing with criminal conduct, and that it inevitably and uniformly results in the creation of a more serious and determined potential criminal class. The key to the defects, abuses and cruelties of the present prison system is to be found in the fact that, whatever the pretence, the actual purpose of imprisonment is not reformation but punishment. *Hence the disciplinary system of the average prison, far from promoting efforts at reformation and personal*

rehabilitation, results either in most efficient training in crookedness, corruption and intrigue, or in the gradual but certain breakdown of the body and mind of the convict.

III

It is but natural that such treatment of the offender should unfit him for life after release and make his adjustment to free and normal life very difficult. During his confinement within the prison, he gets accustomed to locks and bars, the constant supervision of the armed guards, the necessity of obeying orders, the absence of both privacy and freedom, new kinds of food, new conditions of work or idleness or both. In this manner he becomes identified with his fellow prisoners, and is considered a member of the convict group. Once outside the prison, the situation is quite changed but seldom for the better. He is again in a hostile community where he is distrusted and treated with contempt. He has now to win his way anew into the affections of his family and the respect of his friends. In other words, he must begin his life all over again under conditions which are overwhelmingly against him.

But being aware of society's hostile attitude, he is afraid and ashamed to go outside his home. In addition to a belief that he is constantly under the surveillance of the police, he feels that he is not wanted as a companion or as an employee by those who know his past. The disgrace of the prisoner is visited even upon his family, the members being frequently treated as social outcastes because of a kinsman's misfortune. Thus the ex-convict is made to feel apart from the life around him. As he is not welcomed by the community, he often seeks the company of undesirable associates, forms bad habits, frequents places of ill-fame and tries to make a living by questionable ways which often land him once again behind the bars.

Such difficulties of adjustment are due in the first place to the traditional attitude of the public towards the criminal, and secondly to the failure of prisons to re-educate the prisoner for life in a normal society after his release. The public seems to believe that once a criminal the person will continue to be a criminal no matter what kindness is shown to him. It often forgets that after all a criminal, whatever his antecedents, is still a human being and that he is in need of retraining to bring out the finer human qualities. If we would only regard imprisonment as an opportunity for the re-education of the convict rather than as a means of merely segregating him and punishing him, we would adopt measures to rehabilitate him, prepare him to play an acceptable role in society, thus making it easier for the community to absorb him. This sort of treatment of the offender is compatible with the primary aim of our penal system which is the protection of society against the forces of crime and

lawlessness. Instead of rendering this type of service to the prisoner and society, our prisons misfit the offender for normal life by their antiquated practices, and then at the expiry of the sentence, turn him into the street friendless, jobless and moneyless, with the stigma of the prison weighing heavily upon him.

On his release one of the most difficult problems the ex-convict has to face is that of employment opportunity. Although in some prisons certain amount of vocational training is given to the inmates, the job problem is seldom given serious consideration. To make matters worse, the community itself is usually afraid to employ criminals. Hence unemployment is an all too common experience of the ex-convict. As a majority of them do not have specialized work experience or knowledge of skilled trades, it is not easy to find jobs for them. It is made even more difficult by the social stigma they carry with them wherever they go. •

As a victim of society's disapproval, he is frequently handicapped by limited opportunities for social participation, and suffers a definite economic deprivation in the restricted chances of finding employment. Search for a job often proves desperate and disheartening. Thus prison experience has a very blighting effect upon the convict and leaves him unable to recover normal social relations without proper help, supervision and guidance from those interested in him and his future. It is to render such service that Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies and After-Care Associations have been formed in some of our big cities. Owing to lack of proper personnel and of funds, they are unable to achieve much worthwhile results. Though the Bombay Presidency Released Prisoners' Aid Society has been in existence for a quarter of a century, only a couple of years ago it appointed a trained Probation Officer to interview the prisoners due to be released, investigate their home and environmental conditions, remedy, if possible, conditions which might cause them to repeat their offence, secure them jobs, keep in contact with them and supervise their progress in settling down to normal life. As the work was found to be too much for one man to handle, the Society secured the assistance of two men students of the Tata School to work as Voluntary Probation Officers, and two Honorary Lady Probation Officers to interview women prisoners and help them seek a law-abiding existence after release. Similar work is being done in Madras and the United Provinces.

Though some good results have been achieved by these Societies, we have by no means found a satisfactory solution to the whole problem of rehabilitation. The probation officers of the Bombay Society have during the last two years interviewed over 2,000 prisoners in the three jails in the City and suburbs of Bombay before their release, found employment for about 82 of them and provided them the necessary after-care. But unfortunately

the ex-convicts, points out the Probation Officer, do not take kindly to the offer of help because prison experience develops in them an attitude of hostility and suspicion towards society and its law enforcing agencies. They feel, he says, that they have become outcastes to be despised and that the society which sent them to prison would not give them a decent chance to make good. This feeling is not without justification. Habitual offenders have learnt from experience that they are shunned by society and that even large-hearted philanthropists are unwilling to employ them on some excuse or other. As a matter of fact, all social groups are inherently distrustful of the law breaker, and place a severe handicap on the ex-convict who seeks to erase his past and start afresh in spite of his past failures. Just as the social groups are distrustful of the ex-convict, so also is the ex-convict suspicious of them. It is not easy therefore to win his confidence, to bring back self-respect, to temper his bitterness and make him lead a straight life.

In progressive countries like America and England, prisons attempt to re-educate the criminal during confinement for normal social participation after release, and relief societies, in addition to providing facilities to ex-convicts and securing them jobs in various lines of work, attend to the needs of the families of prisoners when the bread-winners are imprisoned, satisfy their craving for security and at the same time develop in them a sense of responsibility for the support of the family. When such sympathy is shown by the community, it becomes easier to make the ex-convict realize his reciprocal obligations and make amends for his past behaviour. Unfortunately, our country is not so advanced in prison administration nor is the public so kindly disposed to the fallen individual. It is therefore an uphill task to make a success of after-care work.

The severe prison discipline and regimentation, being widely different from the life of freedom to which the prisoner will ultimately be restored, contributes the worst type of training for the responsibilities of citizenship. The rules of silence, the heavily barred cells of concrete and steel were made for the desperate few, and not for the average inmates of the prison. The number of dangerous antisocial individuals, that is, dangerous in the sense that they would commit bodily violence, maim, murder or endanger the lives of others wantonly as a result of uncontrolled temper or because of vicious tendencies is, in any given prison, really very small. The majority of the so-called criminals are criminals because of weakness of character, inability to withstand temptation, and lack of initiative and resourcefulness. They are for the most part helpless and inadequate individuals. They have a right to look to society for help and guidance in making proper adjustment to its requirements.

On our part, we must recognize that each individual represents a social investment, that he presents certain assets in the way of good qualities and certain liabilities in the way of bad qualities, and that when for one reason or another he drifts into prison, it becomes an opportunity for society to endeavour to draw out the good and suppress the evil by substituting desirable ways of behaviour so that in the end he may become a good citizen. But the maddening monotony and regimentation, the brutality, the ill-organized and inefficient labour system, the educational mockery, the mental deterioration, the frustration of normal sex drives and the consequent homosexuality, the flat prison diet, the morbidly depressing cells, the ugly architecture, the complacent self-righteous guards—all these do not furnish the kind of soil which is necessary to nourish social-mindedness, self-respect and social responsibility. On the contrary, such an environment and treatment are certain to turn whatever sparks of self-respect remain and whatever determination is made to reform into remorseless hatred and galling bitterness against society and its law enforcing agencies.

The new penal philosophy, which recognizes the social and psychological factors in crime has revolutionized the concept of crime and has provided a new goal to humanitarian and reform movements in the West. As a result, the worst abuses in penal treatment in European countries have been and are being corrected. In response to the demand for re-training fitted to the offender's need as well as that of society, indeterminate sentences have been introduced, probation has been made a substitute for imprisonment in the case of certain class of offenders, the institution of parole has been created. The very idea of crime has undergone great modifications. Special courts have been set up for the criminally insane, the defectives, the juvenile delinquents, first offenders, women and recidivists. These are all new trends in penal reform. In these institutions experiments are being made to discover the best methods of preventing crime and reforming the criminal.

Inasmuch as most of the criminals are victims of bad heredity and inadequate social training, it is necessary to provide individualized treatment in order to rebuild their character and re-educate them in the principles of social responsibility. Unfortunately, in our country punishment, and not prevention, still absorbs the major portion of the activities of the police, courts and prisons. Nevertheless, it is encouraging to note that in recent years some innovations have been introduced. At the commencement of the 19th century, jail conditions in India were extremely unsatisfactory. Though Jail Committees were appointed in 1836 and then again in 1864 to remedy the evils, nothing tangible was done till 1889 when the Jail Commission was appointed. All credit for the origin of jail improvements in recent years must be given to

that Commission. Some of its recommendations were abandoned as unworkable and others were postponed as unsuitable to put into effect at that time. However, the most important outcome of the work of this Commission was the creation of large Central Jails for convicts sentenced to more than one year's imprisonment, the District Jails at the headquarters or districts and the Subsidiary Jails and "lock-ups" for under-trial prisoners and convicts sentenced to short terms of imprisonment.

Later in 1919 a Commission of Enquiry was appointed to investigate the whole system of prison administration in India in the light of Western experience in prison reform. Its report was published in 1921 but most of its recommendations were not then put into effect owing to financial stringency. Then came the appointment of the Indian Jails Committee (1929-30) which conducted the first comprehensive survey of Indian prison administration. This Committee laid stress upon the necessity of improving and increasing jail accommodation; of recruiting a better class of warders; providing education for prisoners and of developing prison industries. Other important recommendations included the separation of civil from criminal offenders; the adoption of the English system of release on license in the case of adolescence; and the creation of children's courts. The Committee found that the reformatory side of the Indian system needed particular attention. They recommended the segregation of the habituals from ordinary prisoners; the provision of separate accommodation for prisoners under trial; the institution of the "Star" class system, and the abolition of certain practices which are liable to degrade or harden the inmates of prisons.

Prior to the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, when the question of prison reform came again to the forefront, Children's Acts and Borstal Schools Acts for the special treatment of juvenile offenders had been passed by the legislatures of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the Central Provinces. The Punjab Borstal Schools Act was brought into force in 1932. The Madras Children Act, passed in 1920, is the earliest and has been largely followed in the other provinces. The Governments of Madras, Punjab, Central Provinces, Bombay and the United Provinces have also enacted Probation of Offenders Act which allow of the release of young offenders on parole under specially selected Probation Officers.

The provisions of the Borstal Schools Act are practically the same in the provinces where such Acts have been enacted. In provinces where there is no Borstal Schools Act juvenile offenders are sent to the reformatory schools established under the Reformatory Schools Act, or confined in juvenile or ordinary jails, but are not allowed to mix with adult prisoners. In the Punjab a Reclamation Department has been established, the main function of which is

the working of the Punjab Good Conduct Probationary Release Act, 1926. Such innovations are certainly encouraging. We have now juvenile courts in some of our cities; the probation system has been adopted here and there. Some reformatories have also been brought into being. All these are meant to make the penal system more progressive. But we must bear in mind that these will remain largely as pious aspirations without a proper penal philosophy to integrate all these steps, to re-examine them and modify or develop new programmes to achieve the goal, and a trained and fully qualified personnel to put these new methods into operation.

It is not surprising that the police, the court and the prison have met hitherto with little success in reforming the criminal and reducing crime. Much of our failure is due to the fact that our penal system is built on the principles of Retribution, Deterrence, and Reform. Though accepted as a principle, reform is given very little consideration, if any. The traditional methods of reform, namely, repression and fear, cannot but fail to bring about the desired result. "If you are to punish a man retributively," says Bernard Shaw, "you must injure him. If you are to reform him, you must improve him. And men are not improved by injuries." If we are really sincere in our object of reform, the motives of punishment and deterrence must be entirely eliminated from our treatment of prisoners; for, the ever-increasing numbers of repeaters clearly show that these methods have served little, if any, useful purpose.

The criminal must be looked upon as a sick man, and his treatment must be individualized. In other words, we must approach the problem of moral ill-health exactly as we approach the problem of physical or mental ill-health, that is, we should seek to cure the criminal by personal treatment; and, at the same time, we should seek to remove the social causes of crime by public preventive measures, and lastly, we should, if necessary, isolate the criminal until he ceases to be dangerous to society.

To this end, we must reform the police, the court and the prison. The police system must be socialized and policewomen must be appointed to deal with juvenile delinquents and women offenders. And the police officers, male and female; who deal with crime and criminals must be well grounded in the fundamentals of sociology and psychology, and also in the essentials of social work as applied to police service. Such training should be given not by police department but by the University or the School of Social Work. The police methods of arrest, detention and the like need also to be reformed.

Further, the legal aspect of the court procedure is much over-emphasized. Since the criminal is as much a psychological and social problem as he is a legal problem, the important thing to decide is not merely the question of

guilt or innocence but of social health or disease. Hence the judicial administration should be terminated once guilt is established and proved. The sentence or disposition of the convicted criminal should be placed in the hands of those more expert than the lay court in matters of character and behaviour analysis. The courts therefore must be socialized, and the Juvenile Court is a step in the right direction.

As regards the prison and its administration, it is generally admitted that there is much room for improvement. Inasmuch as the criminal is the victim of bad heredity and inadequate social training, it is necessary to provide individualized treatment in such a way as to rebuild, if possible, his character and re-educate him in the fundamental principles of social responsibility. To this end, the following reforms may be suggested. In the first place, our correctional institutions should be regarded primarily as places for such re-training of the offender as would enable him to return to society as law-abiding citizen. The jails should be entirely places of detention and in no sense institutions for the reception of convicted criminals. Those convicted of petty offences should, as far as possible, be kept out of penal institutions and handled through fines, probation, psychiatric clinics and social guidance. (This method would eliminate the tremendous cost of maintaining such persons by the hundreds in prison.) This would apply to all except those potentially dangerous individuals, such as the mentally defective and abnormal, or hardened criminals who happen to be apprehended for petty offences. Such types must, of course, be segregated and treated until cured or until death. Those convicted of more serious crimes should be sent to institutions where they will be properly examined, classified and subjected to appropriate treatment. The end sought should be the complete reformation of the reformable ones, irrespective of the crimes committed. This would prevent turning back into the city each month scores of hardened and skillful criminals whose prison life has only served to make them more determined to commit crimes and more capable in the act.

This method of individualized treatment would call for special types of institutions. The defective delinquents must be cared for in an institution modelled in accordance with their special needs. The insane must be sheltered in separate quarters. The "normal" criminals usually constitute the largest misdemeanor group; they are amenable to a scientifically planned programme of correction. An institution meant for this group should function as an institution for social education and training in citizenship. The hardened recidivist is probably beyond redemption and should be segregated in a separate institution. Some of these special institutions can be made self-supporting by adding industrial or agricultural units. In addition, each

institution should be equipped with a hospital and attending physician as well as a psychologist and psychiatrist.

Furthermore, provision should be made for a normal sex life on the part of the inmates of penal institutions who are detained for a period of more than a month. Some attention should also be given to the families of persons serving terms in prison. We would all agree that it is unjust to make innocent persons suffer for the crimes of another, yet this is what happens in almost all cases where the offender is the breadwinner, and leaves his family and children without any means of support. In such cases, children may be forced to work, or the mother may be obliged to depend on charity or resort to immoral ways of earning a living. Many such cases have come to the notice of the Probation Officer of the Bombay Released Prisoners' Aid Society. To prevent such disintegration of families of prisoners, we should work out a system of caring for their families. In prisons that provide well managed industrial or farm work, able-bodied prisoners will be able to earn more than enough for their own support, and the surplus can be used to help those made dependent by their imprisonment. Enough should be added to these earnings to enable their dependents to provide for themselves with the necessities of life. .

To prevent the ex-convict from relapsing into crime, it is, to begin with, necessary to change the attitude of the public towards the criminal. In the second place, some co-operation should be established between the prison and the employers of labour. If the latter give their support to this type of work, the unusual difficulties associated with securing employment can be overcome. Thirdly, we must secure sponsors among the responsible citizenry for each prisoner to see that he has a job and to instill faith in him. Lastly, the State should give adequate support to private agencies like the Released Prisoners' Aid Society to function more effectively in the after-care of discharged prisoners. Most of the ex-convicts are prepared to make a genuine effort to begin anew and become self-supporting citizens. It is our duty to give them a chance and the necessary encouragement in their struggle to win.

These reforms cannot be brought about overnight, nor can they be ushered in by sentimental demands on the part of soft-hearted prison visitors. They will only come when the public is educated to see the evils of this system which "stores away the criminal for a few years to deteriorate, and then hands him back to the world to rob, cheat and assault every weaker person who gets in his path." The attitude of society toward the criminal, which is in general one of vengeance, should also be changed. It inflicts punishment upon him because it believes that he has intentionally and deliberately committed crime. But we are slowly coming to see that every individual is the product of his biography. Whatever he is, he has been made by the conditions under which

he has lived plus the characteristic tendencies with which he was born. Consequently, what the criminal needs is not punishment but re-training, re-education. Hence the prison should not break the convict's spirit but redirect it. Efficient, honorable life after release from prison is difficult, if not impossible, unless right attitudes and self-respect are built up before release. If we adopt proper reformatory measures, the prisoner who responds to such treatment may emerge a new man with good habits already built about the better traits of his nature, and with a new resolve and will to win embedded in his character.

PLAY THERAPY IN CHILD PSYCHIATRY

K. R. MASANI

Observation of the play of children has become the classical method of study of difficult children in most Child Guidance Clinics throughout the world. In this article Dr. Masani discusses some outstanding theories in regard to play and play therapy, and deals with those aspects of children's play which come in useful for observation and psychiatric treatment of children with personality deviations.

ALTHOUGH the earlier studies of children's play were largely of a descriptive nature giving a wealth of details, attempts were frequently made to determine the underlying causation of the apparently meaningless play of children. Of late years the emphasis has gradually shifted to the underlying causative factors in children's play, so that at the present time studies of play include both the types such as many of the descriptive studies by Gessel, Charlotte Buhler, Danziger etc., as also studies of play activity undertaken with the object mainly of securing the reasons behind it. Here various workers according to their dominant interests, views and beliefs tend to focus attention on those aspects of play activity which tended to fit in with their theories and conceptions regarding the motivation behind play. Thus Stanley Hall believed that in his play the child passes through a series of cycles such as was found to be the case in the evolution of the race. Groos believed that play represents rehearsal of functions which would be needed later on by the individual in order to survive. He thus tended to look upon play as an expression of instincts which prepares the individual for adult life. Spencer regarded play as an outlet for surplus motor energy.

All these workers committed the same mistake as is so common in diverse fields of life, namely, that of regarding one of the factors underlying motivation as the only one. Whereas of recent years a great many workers in psychology have borne this error in mind, the work of quite a few investigators even of comparatively recent years is characterised by the same narrow tendency. Hence, very often there is nothing wrong in the theory propounded by various workers and there is no real contradiction in the formulations of different workers except when the worker generalises in regard to the one or more particular factors which he has discovered and studied minutely and presents them as the only causative factor or factors. It was with the conception of the unconscious mind as formulated by Freud that the understanding of child psychology like adult psychology gained the depth it had been lacking

previously—a lack which was responsible for the scanty knowledge on motivation of children's behaviour including their play.

In regard to children's play Freud presented his views in his book *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* as follows :—“We see that children repeat in their play everything that has made a great impression on them in actual life, that they thereby react the strength of the impression and so to speak make themselves masters of the situation. But, on the other hand, it is clear enough that all their play is influenced by the dominant wish of their time of life. It is also observable that the unpleasing character of the experience does not always prevent it being utilised as a game . . . In the play of children we seem to arrive at the conclusion that the child repeats even the unpleasant experiences because through his own activity he gains a far more thorough mastery of the strong impression that was possible by mere passive experience. Every fresh repetition seems to strengthen this mastery for which the child strives.”

Play is thus regarded as the expression of the child's dominant wishes or urges, conscious or unconscious, and of the expression of the child's anxieties and conflicts as well. With this view point as basic several workers since Freud have attempted to analyse the difficulties of children through play observation. Indeed, as will be mentioned later, play observation has become the classical method of study of difficult children in most child guidance clinics throughout the world. Freud's own followers were not slow in adapting the basic concepts of Freud to the study of children. His own daughter Anna Freud and Melaine Klein are two of the outstanding workers in the field. Melaine Klein's work has been further developed more recently by psychoanalysts such as M. N. Searl, Dr. M. Schmideberg and others.

Anna Freud's work with children also includes to a large extent the securing of the child's active co-operation by a period preparatory to play therapy during which she seeks to win the child's love and positive transference by making friends with the child through making herself useful to him by helping the child to avoid punishment and by helping the child to regard her as a friendly and powerful ally. Analysis proper through observation of play, through use of dreams and day dreams then follows. She also uses the method of free association with older children. Indeed, free association to some extent is not altogether omitted by psychiatrists in work with younger children ; it is frequently most useful during the observation of children's spontaneous play. To ask a child for example what a particular object on the sandtray reminds him of, although this does not exactly correspond to the technique of free association as practised in the consulting room with adult patients, presents an essential similarity to free association in the processes involved. Apart from actively obtaining the co-operation of the child, Anna Freud also does not

neglect to obtain the co-operation of the parents, and she avails herself of the information provided by the parents regarding the day-to-day activity of the children which she naturally finds useful for the understanding of the child as also of the opportunity of altering the undesirable elements in the child's environment. In all these essentials her approach is very similar to that in practice in a Child Guidance Clinic.

Melaine Klein approaches the problem with the basic assumption that the free play of children is equivalent to the free association of adults. Provided that the observed play of children is really spontaneous, it seems legitimate to attribute to the individual items of play and to the spontaneous direction of play the same significance as is attributed to the free association of adults in laying bare the underlying motivations of mentality and behaviour. Melaine Klein's play therapy appears to have as one prominent characteristic a very free use of interpretation to the child. This free use of interpretation is moreover characterised by the interpretations being of a very deep nature and pertaining mainly to what the child experienced in the past and later repressed, mainly pregenital impulses such as oral sadistic and anal sadistic ones. This liberal use of deep interpretation is criticised by some as depriving the play of that unadulterated spontaneity which alone would entitle the play to be regarded as truly representative of the child's urges. It would appear, however, that the same criticism would be applied to any form of therapy which makes use of interpretations at all. The difference is mainly one of quantity and depth; if the worker has adequate training in psycho-analysis and the ability and time to carry out such a form of treatment, and if such forms of treatment give good therapeutic results there can be no legitimate grounds for criticism. Nor does it appear to the writer that psycho-analytical play therapists themselves would even claim that the play of the child remains totally spontaneous during such play therapy with such frequent and deep interpretations. The psycho analytical type of play therapists like Melaine Klein formulate that primitive infantile impulses exist in the inner mind of *every child* giving rise to anxiety and tension, and that interpretative therapy of the deep type helps to relieve these and the deviations in personality or behaviour resulting from such guilt, tension and anxiety.

In contrast to such forms of deep interpretative play therapy which refers the play to infantile situations of the past is a form of therapy in which the therapist concentrates mainly on the current relationship of the child with the therapist. This appears to be the type of therapy employed by Allen. Allen encourages the child to develop a relationship with the therapist in which the child may experience how to handle and master his emotional difficulties. Emphasis in interpretation is in terms of the current relationship

between the child and the therapist, and the child is encouraged and helped through play to become aware of his inner fears and anxieties, and of the difficulty in relating himself to the therapist.

In regard to other approaches to the study and treatment of children through play the approach of Dr. Margaret Lowenfeld is one which has much to commend itself. For many years one of the pioneers of play therapy, Dr. Lowenfeld, has worked out a method which is characterised by a flexibility of technique to meet the individual needs in each case. Her approach, moreover, may be regarded as one which, with minor modifications, is employed in a great many adequately staffed Child Guidance Clinics, and by duly qualified psychiatrists other than fully trained psycho-analysts. Approximately similar is the approach of C. H. Rogerson and others. There are many who believe in the basic principles of psycho-analysis. These workers have not the specialised and intensive training in formal psycho-analysis, nor the inclination to carry out the deep interpretative therapy employed by Melaine Klein and her immediate followers as they feel it is unnecessary to employ such methods as shorter and more superficial methods are available.

With these introductory remarks concerning theories in regard to play and play therapy let us turn to a consideration of those aspects or the uses of children's play which come in particularly useful for psychiatric study and treatment of children with deviations of personality behaviour or habit or with educational retardation, or finally with medical symptoms without organic lesions. One of the most fundamental endeavours in psychiatric study of a child is to determine how a particular child deviates from the normal or average child in its development or behaviour, and to determine what are the causes of such deviations in the functioning of the individual personality. With accurate determination of the causes successful therapy in child psychiatry would naturally then depend upon measures devised to cope with the removal of causes revealed by the diagnostic study and on pointing to the child the connection between the child's deviation and the underlying causes, a relationship of which he is quite often unaware. Anything therefore which facilitates a study of the causes of deviations in behaviour is of value in a psychiatric approach. In view of the unsuitability of the formal method of verbal free association, observation of spontaneous play of various forms as also of spontaneous creations such as free drawing becomes a most useful, necessary and interesting form of studying the inner mental life of the child. Thus play observation forms the pivot of psychiatric diagnosis of children.

It has been suggested that the real difficulty in regard to observation of play in children is linked up with the question of ensuring that the play of the child is really spontaneous, and that it is free and unhampered, as the

presence of an adult personality invariably interferes with the spontaneity of the play, and its being indulged in in an unhampered way. Techniques in play therapy therefore have as a fundamental rule the conversion of the observing, and, to the child's mind, restricting adult as nearly completely as possible into a playmate or a comrade. This conversion is rendered possible by bearing in mind certain basic principles.

Firstly, workers in the playroom receive training which enables them to accept the point of view of each child as their own to as great an extent as possible. Apart from this fundamental endeavour, they do their best to convey to the child through their words and actions that they are not watching or partaking in the play with the usual adult attitudes. With this end in view the playroom worker casts aside any attitude of adulthood, dignity, or superiority such as usually characterises the behaviour of adults in relation to children. In order not to make a child feel small and inferior in comparison to the playroom worker, the latter always places himself physically at nearly the same level or below that of the child.

Then again, the playroom worker refrains from blaming or criticising the child for anything that the latter may do. This is not to say that the child is allowed to be truly antisocial in the sense of being allowed to do anything that results in any real damage or danger to the child, or to others, or in any destruction of material other than that of which a large variety exists set apart for destructive play. A child is not allowed for example to beat up a younger or smaller child; a friendly tussle between two children of equal size is, however, permitted provided careful watch is kept that the wrestle or tussle does not get converted into an ugly and bitter hand to hand fight. Nor is a child permitted to assault or attack an older child or a playroom worker to a degree that causes real damage or pain. In such situations the goal of the playroom worker always is to prevent such activities by tact and playfulness or, where these fail, by firmness and physical restraint on his part rather than to let them happen and then punish the child. Then again any damage to property such as furniture, windows, walls, as also any willful damage to toys except those placed at the disposal of the child for such purposes, is prevented by tact and skill rather than permitted and then punished.

With the exception of the above really antisocial activities and the necessary deprivations involved in checking them, the playroom workers not only allow the child to do anything it wants to do without hindrance but actually reverse the roles of adult and child by placing themselves entirely at the service of the child to do whatever the child wishes them to do. Apart from the absence of criticism of "naughty" behaviour, and the reversal of the role of adult and child the workers try to come to the level of the child in

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a mental way as much as they try to do so in a physical way. They do not consider anything that the child does as silly or childish and they do not question the child's use of play material as it chooses even if the play appears to be silly or meaningless. The play is allowed to be entirely spontaneous and only very rarely is the child directed to a particular type of play either when the child is too inhibited to play at all in the beginning, or where the play appears for a prolonged period to be fitful and shifting without appearing to serve any real purpose. Then too, the worker tries to be as passive as possible, putting himself or herself entirely in the background and letting the child have the initiative throughout. It is easy to perceive that play in such a setting is much more likely to be spontaneous than when the child regards the worker as a bigger, stronger, wiser and superior person who watches with a critical eye as is usual for children to feel when in the company of adults.

It goes without saying that apart from the foregoing alteration in attitude and behaviour the worker enters into the spirit of the child's play and takes part in the play or the games like a child or comrade. Tact, patience, cheerfulness, poise, real kindness and interest in children as opposed to sentimentality based on personality difficulties are also requisites which the playroom worker bears in mind over and above the modification mentioned above. With this attitude the trained play therapist or playroom worker in training is introduced to the child and invites the latter to choose whatever type of toy or material that the child wishes to play with in whatever manner he chooses. Nor is the play restricted to actual play with the materials or toys provided. If the child prefers to run around or sit on the swings in the garden, or again to chat pleasantly or seriously with a worker the flexibility of technique is such as to make the worker enter into the spirit of whatever the child wishes to do. The initiative in conversation as in play is left to the child.

Turning now to the question of what forms of material and playthings are utilised for play therapy there exists a wide range of materials which can be used. The guiding principle in selection of materials is to select such as can be utilised to serve different ends as the child may choose so that finished toys which can be used only in one way or in an automatic manner find very little place in the clinic toy cabinet. The material selected therefore is of a nature which can enable the child to use it in any manner to express his inner urges or fears or conflicts, or to solve his problems. Hence, such materials as water, sand, dough, plasticine clay can be used in a variety of ways by the child. Material of this type is mainly useful for the expression of phantasy, of urges, fears and conflicts of the child, and it can also be used as material for construction. For example, one of the children attending the Child Guidance Clinic, Bombay, played with plasticine on more than one occasion for more

than an hour at a time, making on one occasion a bird. Having made the bird in a few minutes, she seemed most engrossed in further concentration on the legs ; making them thick and strong, then thin and frail, wondering the while whether they would be strong enough to carry the weight of the body. In order that the significance of this play is appreciated it is necessary to present a short summary of certain aspects of the case.

A young Borah girl of about 10 was carried into the consulting room as the parents found the child unable to walk. The parents stated that the child was not able to walk or even stand and that the legs had been paralysed for the previous 2 or 3 months during which time she had been treated by medicines by different doctors without any success. Finally, a physician suspecting functional nervous disease referred her for psychiatric investigations and treatment. The history showed clearly that the case was based on emotional or psychological factors. The child had got accidentally locked up in a lavatory at her school and could not get out for some time, the incident producing extreme fear at the time. Following this fright at school she had been confined to bed with fever for 2 or 3 days but, on recovering from this fever, she complained of continuation of aches in the leg which usually passed off when the fever subsided. Moreover, on attempting to get out of bed her legs felt very weak and they gave way so that she could neither walk nor stand. This condition had persisted till the time she was referred for psychiatric treatment. The girl was a favourite child and was greatly overindulged on account of her good looks and sweet ways by both parents and the other relatives in and about the house. The case was diagnosed as one of hysteria, after a careful physical examination revealed no organic lesions to account for the condition. One of the main motives behind the illness, apart from the desire to gain attention and sympathy, was the motivation of effectively keeping her away from school where she had experienced an extremely disagreeable feeling in the nature of the acute fright. So long as she could not stand or walk it was natural that neither her parents nor anybody else would ask her or even expect her to go to school. There were probably deeper motivations behind the symptoms such as defence against sex impulses; the girl had gone not to the lavatory reserved for girls of the school but to the one reserved for the boys. However, in this case there was neither the time nor the facilities at the Clinic to go into details regarding deeper motivations, nor was it felt necessary in the beginning to deal with such factors.

After the first attendance the child was enabled to be on her legs. However, she would not stand straight but bent her knees to a very marked degree, giving her gait a very peculiar and bizarre quality as she bent her legs in walking. It was at this stage that she indulged in the play described above. The

preoccupation in her inner mind as to whether her own legs were strong enough to enable her to walk and to take her among other places to school were given expression in her play which consisted of making the legs of the bird thick, then thin and repeatedly expressing her doubts or opinions as to the ability or otherwise of the bird's legs to carry the weight of the body. It is interesting and significant that on another occasion she played for a prolonged period by selecting a wooden cat to play with. This cat had wooden legs which could be bent or straightened by pulling on a string, and the child indulged in the play of alternately bending and straightening the cat's legs while testing all the while whether it could stand or walk. Marked improvement followed soon after these play contacts and within 5 or 6 attendances the girl's walk hardly showed the bending at the knees, except just once in a while compared to every step. Shortly afterwards the girl was completely cured of the symptoms and walked in a perfectly normal manner.

Although such measures as alteration of the parent's attitudes and explanation to the child that she had her symptoms as a defence or safeguard against going back to school, the very idea of which made her frightened in case the incident causing the fright might be repeated, were undertaken in this case, it was felt that, on account of the very slight amount of work in this direction as also of the fact of the very marked improvement following the above two play interviews, the main reason for cure was in all probability the fact of the expression of the child's conflict through play. It has been observed in other cases that marked improvement follows without any interpretation to the child or attitude therapy of the parents.

Apart from such substances as water, sand, plaster and clay being used for the purpose of expression of phantasy and of the child's urges, fears and conflicts, a wide variety of play material such as water-toys, modelling material and other toys can be provided for the expression of phantasy, nor need the expression of phantasy be confined to such materials. The child often plays with and expresses his inner fears or urges through such simple objects as stones and pebbles, pieces of paper, bits of string, an empty tin and so forth.

There is, however, one set of materials which is provided for children to play with at many Child Guidance Clinics including the Tata School Clinic at Bombay. This includes play material for what Dr. Lowenfeld terms "Worlds". This set is made up of a sand tray, approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 2 feet with a depth of about 5 inches, sand, water, and a whole lot of little objects to represent men, women, children, policeman, farmer, labourer, etc., as also such objects as houses, carts, motors, fencing, trees, and animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, rabbits, dogs, hens and the like. The child is presented with wide assortments of these objects and is told to create any scene on the sand-tray.

In this way spontaneous play on the sand-tray can be utilised for diagnostic purposes, as it provides valuable clues to the difficulties and problems of different children. Apart from this diagnostic use of play, of which the sand-tray play is one variety which particularly facilitates the expression of phantasy, the very expression of the conflicts in play is frequently found to relieve tension and anxiety and to produce improvement in the symptoms. Play like this has thus therapeutic value as well. Materials for free drawing and painting either with the brush or finger are also provided and serve the same purpose of expressing phantasy as do the "World Cabinet" sand, clay, and plasticine.

In addition, play material is provided which is particularly suitable for the expression of different impulses; for example, for constructive impulses such materials as Meccano, Kleptico weaving, beading work, carpentry, fretsaw work, etc., or again, materials giving scope for movement are also provided for the aggression activity, such as rubber balls, volley ball, etc. Then again, adult material on a miniature scale, houses, furniture, dolls, cooking utensils, etc., are very useful as play with such material reveals the inner tendencies and relationships of the child with its parents, brothers, sisters and others. David Levy has devised a special set of dolls to which children usually attribute the significance of parent, sibling and self, and those dolls are so constructed that their limbs could be removed and refixed. As mentioned before, however, children will use all kinds of things in different ways. Aggression, for example, is not only expressed by the use of a toy pistol. Arranging pots in a row and knocking them down by a stream of water directed from the tap with a rubber tube has been the form in which two Indian children recently expressed their aggression as was noticed also with English children. Similarly, in play with water toys, deliberately drowning or pushing down a floating doll or an animal or other objects by a stream is a very frequent form of expression of aggression with Indian children as with children in general. An English child whom the writer studied and treated at the Institute of Child Psychology, London, expressed his aggression in the following way:—he spontaneously selected four rag dogs, 2 big ones and 2 small ones and arranged them in a row. He then took a rubber ball and at other times wooden cubes or blocks and began to knock the dogs down. It was noticed that he aimed specially at one of the dogs and seemed to get most satisfaction when he knocked it down. He selected to play this game on 4 or 5 consecutive attendances of the Course asking the permission of the play therapist each time if he could play the game. On questioning him in a playful manner he stated that the four dogs were respectively father, mother, a brother and a sister. (The patient had only one brother and one sister.) The dog he knocked down most often, and one which gave him most satisfaction in knocking down, was "mother".

In order to understand the meaning of the child's behaviour and the results of such play a few words about the child are necessary. "T" was a boy aged about 13½, physically rather overgrown for his age, but mentally very child-like and somewhat intellectually retarded, his I. Q. being between 80 and 85. He was referred mainly on account of bouts of rudeness to his mother though generally he was greatly attached to her and was a very good boy. He was also referred due to his being unduly shy, gentle, solitary and timid, and to his being very afraid of going alone to school in case older boys teased or bullied him. He was also reported to be absent minded and day-dreaming. At the clinic these difficulties were soon noticed and confirmed, and the main symptoms of concern were felt to be his reaction of withdrawal from the world of reality and retreat into phantasy whereas the mother was most concerned about his rude behaviour to her.

The play selected by the child of knocking down the dogs particularly "mother" took place soon after admission, and in view of the child's rude behaviour and his play attention was directed to ascertain the reasons for the child's inner resentment towards the mother. After a few play interviews it was elicited from the child that he felt very upset because he could not be sure if his mother loved him. It was ascertained that he would run to his mother several times a day and ask her if she loved him; to which she would invariably reply "I love you, if you are good". Sometimes he would ask these questions several times within a short interval, always to get the same answer. The child was occasionally told at other times that he was not a good boy or that what he did was naughty, and in his mind he had linked such remarks of the mother with her usual answer "I love you if you are good", so that he either felt at times that his mother did not love him or more often he had a tormenting doubt in his mind whether she loved him. This non-assurance of her love, and the consequent suspense and doubt, were particularly difficult for this child to bear. To quote his own spontaneous words, he stated on one occasion, "I would rather know she did not love me than be kept guessing if she does." It was this fundamental doubt that mainly caused the inner resentment towards the mother which expressed itself in the problem of rudeness as also in the aggressive play of knocking down "mother".

About three weeks after commencing treatment and after five or six of the play interviews (mentioned above), the mother was asked how "T" was getting on. She expressed that the boy was somewhat improved in regard to all his problems, but that she was most gratified to notice that the problem of rudeness had completely disappeared. If any reader felt that it was not judicious for the play therapist or psychiatrist to allow such aggressive play of knocking down "mother" or to encourage it by the non-criticism of such

play, the result in this case, as also in the great majority of children who play similarly, will convince them that aggressive forms of play, even if they appear on first thoughts to call for restraint or checking, are actually greatly beneficial to the child and the parents in so far as the child works out the aggression with play materials in play activity and becomes less aggressive to the parents in reality. Having knocked down "mother" in play, the resentment which otherwise led to rude outbursts was enabled to be expressed with the happy result that the actual and real rude behaviour disappeared. It is not, however, suggested that the whole thing is as simple as what has just been described but this play activity was presented as it illustrates the beneficial effects of the expression of impulses.

Having described some of the ways of getting over the difficulty of observing the really spontaneous play of children, the play material employed, and having presented one or two illustrations of how children play with or use the material in order to express their inner urges, fears and conflicts, it remains to indicate and describe in brief the commoner contents of the child's conscious or unconscious mental activity which finds expression in play, and to discuss the value of the play in removing the behaviour and personality deviations of children, and in promoting a sound and wholesome development of the child. This will be attempted in the concluding half of this article in the next issue of the Journal.

A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE
ARAYA (FISHERMEN) COMMUNITY OF NARAKKAL,
A VILLAGE IN COCHIN

CHERIAN J. MAMPILLI

The development of fisheries and fishing industry along scientific lines will provide sufficient quantity of fish to the rice-eating population of India resulting in diet improvement at less cost, at the same time giving employment to the growing population. In this study Mr. Mampilli (Tata School, 1942) discusses the social and economic problems of the Arayans of Narakkal, and suggests several means of developing the fishing industry and allaying the distress and difficulties of the poor fisherfolk.

THE object of a sound world economy has always been to exploit to the fullest extent the hidden riches of Nature, land and sea to meet the human needs. The development of science and the consequent changes in the life of individuals have increased the needs and wants of people demanding greater and greater exploitation of nature. Exploitation of nature becomes all the more essential and imminent in a country like India with its teeming half-starved population. The main sources of food being agriculture, livestock and fish, it is only too obvious that India's salvation rests in systematic food and crop planning on a nation-wide scale based on the sciences of economics, agriculture and nutrition, and guided by true social foresight.

India, with 17,000 miles of coast line, cannot afford to neglect fishing. But very little effort is made in this direction by the various governments in India and fishing and fishing industry are in a deplorable state. A sufficient amount of fish would provide cheap food to the starving, rice-eating people of India by supplying fat and protein that is so sadly lacking in their diet. Apart from the value of fish as food for the starving millions, it provides employment in different lines by developing the fish industry, and gives scope of expansion to allied industries like canning, salting, herring and pickling of fish and manufacture of manure, oil, soap etc. "So important is this food," says Robert McCarrison, "that fish culture is a pursuit that might well engage the attention of the educated Indians." The development of fishing on a scientific and intensive scale is one of the prime needs in India today inasmuch as it provides wholesome food and employment to millions of people who need them badly.

Cochin with its fifty miles of sea-board, its extensive back-waters, its peculiar configuration with magnificent lagoons, inland lakes and waterways

covering nearly thirty square miles, its geographical position and trade facilities, affords immense scope and possibilities for the development of the fishing industry. Hence, the present investigation was undertaken with a view to discover the real condition of one of the fishermen communities, the Arayans of Narakkal, a fishing village in Cochin, and to suggest ways of improving their social and economic status with reference to the findings arrived at.

The village of Narakkal stands midway between Cranganur and Cochin on the coast strip lying between the Backwaters and the Arabian Sea. It lies five miles north of Cochin Harbour by sea and is bounded by Nayarambalam village on the north, Backwaters on the east, Elengunnappuzha village on the south and Arabian Sea on the west. It is low and generally swampy and liable to be submerged during the monsoon floods. Blessed with bountiful rainfall from two monsoons, the southwest and the northeast, it has abundant vegetation with luxuriant cocoanut palms covering the entire village. In places where there are natural or artificial embankments rice is cultivated, and the various industries connected with the cultivation of cocoanut palm, the rich fisheries of the sea and the lagoons and the multifarious occupations of a commercial and maritime tract have tended to swell the population. The density of population ranges from 3,500 to 4,000 per square mile and in certain areas goes up to 6,675 per square mile. It is an important Christian centre with a Government High School and a Government Dispensary. Besides the Christians, the Hindus belonging to different castes, Ezhavas, Valans, Pulayans and Arayans, form another important religious group. The long waterways connect the village with places of importance in Cochin, Travancore and British Malabar along the coast, and the only means of communication are the canals with the exception of the Cochin-Pallipport Trunk Road which cuts the village into two halves and runs right across it.

The Araya community is strictly a vocational group whose main occupation is sea-fishing. The Arayans are fishermen and boatmen like the Valans. A peep into the historical backgrounds and into the traditions, mores and folkways, obtaining in the community today, reveals an origin that can be traced back to remote antiquity. The Arayans as a community stand apart with their own peculiar ways of living and their profession. While the Valans fish only in the backwaters and lagoons, the Arayans are engaged in sea-fishing, and though they both belong to the fishermen caste, the life of both these communities is different socially and economically. The Valans are superior to the Arayans in education, social status and in civic life as a result of better organization under efficient leaders, better education and government positions. The Valathies (women of Valan) contribute a good deal to the economic life of the family by the nature of their work as against Arayathies (women of Araya)

who are an economic liability all through their life. The Valan is one of the most rapidly progressing communities in Cochin among the low castes.

There are two distinct sects among the Arayans. The main sect is known as Arayans or Kandalarayans who do not engage in any occupation except sea-fishing. The other sect is called Nayarseri Arayans who are low in status and are barbers to Arayans and to other lower communities. Though barbers by caste they go sea-fishing along with other Arayans, but the two sects neither intermarry nor interdine. However, the Nayarseri Arayans enjoy certain privileges at the hands of the government such as free education, free clothing, books and other necessities for school-going children which are never enjoyed by the Arayans. Even then the Nayarseri Arayans have not come up to the status of the Arayans economically or socially.

The following table represents the community distribution of adults, adolescents and children in the 145 families selected for the study:—

TABLE I

Total population of 145 families	...	835
Adults 20 years of age and above	...	406
Adolescents (15-20)	...	84
Children below 15	...	345
Total number of males	...	431
Total number of females	...	404
Average per family	...	5.8
Percentage of boys below 15	...	19.9
Percentage of girls below 15	...	18.5

The low standard of life of the Arayans, low wages, and still lower aspirations for material advancement in life are perpetuated by a touching faith in the doctrine of "Karma". The following tables are indicative of the astonishingly low income of the community as compared with the expenditure:—

TABLE II

Annual Income of 145 Families

Principal occupation	...	Rs. 11,819	4	0
Subsidiary occupation	...	„ 3,683	12	0
Irregular occupation	...	„ 691	3	0
Land and animal	...	„ 748	1	0
Skilled and unskilled labour	..	198	4	0

Total Rs. 17,140 8 0

TABLE III

Annual Expenditure of 145 Families

Food	Rs. 11,882	15	0
Clothing	„ 1,042	8	0
Fuel	„ 715	8	0
Rent	„ 61	0	0
Miscellaneous	„ 459	13	0
Occupational	„ 1,779	5	0
Interest	„ 524	2	0
Religious	„ 357	6	0
Drinks	„ 1,620	1	0
Specials	„ 884	0	0
Total	Rs. 18,926	10	0

TABLE IV

Yearly, Monthly and Daily Income

	<i>Annual</i>			<i>Monthly</i>			<i>Daily</i>		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Average income per family	168	3	4	13	0	3	0	7	4
Per capita income	20	8	2	1	11	4	0	0	10.8
Income per working man	84	13	2	7	1	1	0	3	9
Income per earning member from fishing	58	8	2	4	14	0	0	2	7

Thus we find that the annual expenditure of 145 families exceeds the annual income by Rs. 1,786-2-0 and that the daily per capita income is only 11 pies, which clearly shows that the community comes nowhere near the standard required even for the barest of minimum subsistence. After spending all they get by way of loans (besides their regular income) on luxuries religious ceremonies, social functions during the season of plenty (the only time when they get loans), the rest of the year they starve without even a full meal a day. Apart from the low standard of living, the community faces a grave problem of educating the members in the matter of thrift and habit of saving in the season of bounty so that they may have a uniform standard of living throughout the year.

On the educational side, however, we find a very high percentage of literacy in the community as compared with that of other depressed classes in Cochin. The following table clearly shows that of 835 persons, 364 (of whom 232 are males and 132 are females) are able to read and write, giving a percentage of 43.15 literates in the total community of whom 56.64 per cent are males and 24.36 are females.

TABLE V

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Literacy of the Community</i>			<i>Literates</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
0- 5	72	67	139	...	...
5-10	51	48	99	87	75
10-15	52	55	107	...	...
15-20	42	42	84	...	...
20-50	160	156	316	145	57
50 & over	54	36	90	...	...
Total	431	404	835	232	132

Such high rate of literacy in comparison with other castes is the result of facilities afforded by provision of schools by the Government or private agencies in different places of the village and other neighbouring villages. The village of Narakkal has one High School, one Lower Secondary School, and Primary Schools besides an Industrial School and a Fishery School. But most of them are not satisfactorily utilized by the community, and the survey shows that this is due mainly to their economic condition.

As far as the fishing industry is concerned the Arayans are engaged mainly in the catching of fish as labour force. If we consider the industry under two main heads, namely, fishing or the act of catching fish together with its disposal to the industrialist, and the curing and distribution of the fish to the consumer, we find that the labour force of the community is drawn from the community as a whole. No sea-fishing net or boat, however small, can be manipulated by an individual fisherman. The individual net owner or owners enlist the services of the fishermen by payment of advances which are repayable from the returns of the catch. The Valakaran (net-man) in turn is linked to one or more Adavukaran (agent) who has the right to demand the catch from the Valakaran. The Valakaran enjoys the benefit of advance payment from the Adavukaran. The Adavukaran, who is not himself economically independent, resorts to the money lender for the necessary investment and the advance payment for the running of the industry. It is not every uncommon that an Adavukaran may also go out fishing and thus get a share of the catch as other fishermen do. There are only a very few cases of written records as to the transactions effected, but such system of contract has an equal, though not greater, force than a written law. Another peculiarity of the system is found in the absence of return payment in cash for generations, and in certain cases the money advanced is lost to the creditor by the escape of the debtor to some other places or by death.

The gaps between the actual producer, the fisherman, who catches the

fish and the consumer are indeed very great. The Adavukaran gets the entire catch. He sells it to his local agent. The agent in turn sells it to the Kizhakar (inland marketeer), local marketeer and individual hawkers. These three in turn sell the fish to the consumer. Any systematic organisation that will fill up these gaps between the fishermen and the consumer will eliminate so much of waste and loss for both the parties concerned. But the peculiar nature of the fishing industry with its set customs and traditions, and with the uncertainty of income has rendered this system imperative, with the result that it has become almost difficult to escape from this evil without the help of some outside agency.

Men in the coastal regions have been fish-eaters for the past many centuries and fishermen have contributed their share in solving the food problem of the people. But neither the people nor the fishermen themselves have ever made an agitation to form themselves into a corporate body and organise fishing trade on sound business lines. This has led to a progressive deterioration in the quality and quantity of the fish produce, and has affected both the producer and the consumer adversely from the hygienic and economic points of view. The initiative has to come from the fishermen themselves but there is no sign of progress visible. Hence, it is the duty of the public and the government to step in before it is too late to remedy the evils, and enthuse the fishermen to better their trade by exploiting new fields of 'catch', to organize better market facilities and to devise ways and means to uplift the community.

From the data collected it is clearly seen that to-day the majority of the fishermen are in the clutches of the usurious money-lender—the Adavukaran. He has a firm grip on his poor clients which is not desirable. It might lead the fishermen to actual serfdom for the fishermen have pledged everything to him (including even the fishing tools) in return for advance of money. As the standard of living of the fisherman is very low, and the seasons of fishing and even the catch itself are so uncertain, many a poor fisherman still serves his master in no honourable way. The average per capita income is of no significance as it is not a well distributed earning. It may be said that the fishermen lead a normal existence during the seasons of bounty which is hardly 4 to 5 months in the year. The major portion of the year sees no light in the hearth of these people's homes. Nor have they learnt to economise and distribute their income uniformly throughout the year. Is it possible to teach them thrift when they do not earn enough to have two square meals a day? This in fact is the crux of the problem as it is with every community in India to-day. Perhaps the fishermen are worse off than even the landless agricultural labourers, for the latter get more uniform distribution of employment.

The only solution possible is to eliminate middlemen from the trade, to

equip the fishermen better to increase production, and to get better price for the produce eliminating unhealthy competition among the fishermen themselves both to the advantage of the ordinary consumer and the fisherman. Organizing subsidiary cottage industries allied to fishing or otherwise is another possibility of economic uplift. Fortunately, the off seasons of fishing coincide with periods of agricultural operations and if the fishermen would turn to this field of work then, their lot may be improved to a great extent.

On the cultural side, the community shows a good record. The educated and literate men and women exceed 50% which is the standard for all in the Cochin State. There is also ample evidence to show that the spirit of sacrifice, co-operation and mutual aid exists not only among members of the same family but among fishermen themselves. This is a good sign which, if developed properly, holds great potentialities for future progress. The community's ideals are such that it gives much respect and predominance to women and children. Women share the responsibilities not only at home but also in the profession of their men. If certain customary traditions are overcome they can become equal partners in the economic field also.

In their own little homes, the fishermen lead a very natural and hygienic life. Blessed with the sea air and nature's bountiful cocoanut foliage of the locality, the houses present a neat and healthy atmosphere. If only they had money enough to build houses in brick and mortar replacing the mud and thatched ones, it would help the future generation to have a better sense of prestige and æsthetic taste. The children attend schools regularly and are given free primary education. But as secondary education is still costly for them and the privilege of only the middle class population, it is regrettable that intelligent leadership cannot come out of the community itself. Though vocational schools have been founded, they are neither adequate nor efficient.

In the social field, as is common among other sects of Hindus, the fishermen also attach undue importance to religious ceremonies, festivals and rituals. Money is lavishly spent on these occasions to the extent of extravagance and even squandering. Drunkenness is not a very serious problem; but if this evil could be reduced further by education, it may help them to spend a little more on necessities. The village folk dances, bhajans, temple worship and feasting are relieving factors from the monotony of insecure work-life for these people, and all sections of the community take part in these in large numbers. Social evils such as desertion, divorce, bigamy and prostitution are not very uncommon among them. Improvement in this respect is highly necessary. Blessed with nature and being a seafaring people, the fishermen are healthy and strong in physique inspite of their unbalanced and poor diet.

The population of the community shows a progressive trend in that the

ratio of the number of children to that of the adults is 525 : 475 (in every 1,000 of population). But the rate of infant and child mortality is high. This requires immediate investigation and remedy. If the community is to survive and progress, it is imperative that a number of constructive activities through education and monetary help be devised not only for the welfare of the fisher-folk themselves but also in the interests of the public who depend on them.

As the problem confronted by the community is mainly economic, the question arises as to how to remove poverty among the fishermen and raise the standard of living. To arrive at the desired end all possible resources have to be tapped to increase their income. The economic possibilities of the fisheries of Cochin State have to be studied in detail with a view to increase the fisherman's income. What is most urgently needed is a thorough investigation into the increase of the catch. A survey of the present fishing ground, its exploitation to the greatest extent, the possibility of finding new grounds, elimination of irregular exploitation, improvement of defects in the use of existing gear in the industry like nets, boats and sails, replacement by new and modern implements with a view to save labour and time; in short, re-organization of the fishing industry under various aspects such as production, preservation, transport and marketing will go a long way towards the economic uplift of the community. Further, the elimination of maldistribution of wealth must be thoroughly investigated and necessary steps taken to reorganize the industry on a cooperative basis.

A careful survey of fishing grounds conducted with the help of a central agency like the Government is the first that has to be taken in hand. With the help of a trawler the fishing grounds in the sea have to be studied with reference to the depth of the sea, nature of sand and the peculiar nature of fish in relation to the fishing grounds. The sea and the coast line of Cochin are divided for fishing purposes into five zones namely:—(1) The super-litoral zone; (2) the litoral zone; (3) the submerged litoral; (4) the sub-litoral zone and (5) the deep sea zone. After an intensive study of these zones the investigator regrets that the exploitation of these zones is far from satisfactory. "We are profoundly ignorant as to the wealth of these waters and the fauna and flora therein at present, and experimental investigation alone can disclose the riches of the sea and there is none to undertake it in the interest of the people and the industry except the government."¹ Speaking about the third zone the writer says: "The exploitation of this field by foreign fishermen from Ponnani in the northern parts and from Travancore in the south and intermediate parts who resort to this hunting ground and reap rich harvests, do not rouse the envy and jealousy of the local fisherman."¹ The fishermen in

¹ Salem, A. B., "Report on the Fisheries of Cochin". Government Press, Ernakulum,

these places hardly go 7 miles from the shore to the high sea while valuable catches of economic importance can be got only in the high sea some 10 to 35 miles out in the sea.

No systematic effort has been made to solve this problem. So far little or nothing has been achieved in this field of the Department's activity. The neglect on the part of the department to investigate in this line is due to the colossal ignorance of the nature and value of Indian sea fisheries in general and deep sea fishing grounds in particular, and of the best methods of exploitation adapted to Indian conditions. Practically nothing has been done, and it is the interest of the people of the State that the Government have to investigate into this matter and rouse the interest of the people in deep sea fishing. Studies have to be made in the process of catching the fish to avoid irregular exploitation of the grounds already made use of. Here we have to take into consideration the different methods of catch, leading the fish into convenient positions for capture either by force or by natural devices. The popular method adopted in this part is to follow the fish and drive them to the desired point by frightening them—especially shoal fishes. Many preliminary processes have to be accomplished to achieve this end. "To avoid unnecessary labour and waste, a study of the nature and condition of the fish is highly essential. There is a natural tendency among the fish to assemble together and attempts should be made to make the fish respond to the call as naturally and voluntarily as possible, to turn to account the habits and capacity of the fish, to prevent escape after the fish are called together, and to assemble them within a quarter as narrow as possible."²

Different devices are in use in different parts of the world. Advanced countries like Japan, America, England and other places adopt the method of collecting fishes by use of lights, providing safe places for shelter, promoting reproductive functions and helping spawning and intercepting the course of advance. No such devices are in use in this part of the country. The same old crude ways of gathering the fish by force are practised throughout.

The only device in practice is by intercepting the course of the fish by nets or any sort of hangings in the water. Effort has to be made in the study of these nets, their size, and the strength and size of the meshes in order to prevent catches of no economic value. The young ones have to be left out. A study of the different nets used in different places should be made and new ones according to the local necessity must be replaced. Apart from unnatural element in this kind of forced collection of fish, it affects the fish and their young ones by their frightening effect.

² *The Japan Times Aquatic Industry*, Number 4, February 1935—quoted from "The Fisherfolk of Madras" D.D. Annugraham, page 205. The University of Madras, 1940.

For the development of sea fishing the sailing craft is of great importance. The smallness of the boat does not permit the fishermen to go to open sea and an improvement in this respect is highly desirable. Experiments should be carried out with bigger sails. They should have big decked boats allowing them to stay out in the sea for days. It should have the provision to keep the fish in good condition. The guts and the intestine of the fish have to be removed in the boat to prevent quick decay. Throwing of these guts into the sea would attract more fish and catch will be made easy. Batches of fishing parties have to be provided with power boats to carry these to the shore from time to time and thus prevent waste of human labour and time. These tugs or trawlers have to be provided with modern equipment of preservation like refrigerators or small tanks. This can be done either by the Government or by co-operative effort. A detailed scheme of the working of these is not within the scope of this work. "Of course, a power boat is exactly what is necessary to develop the sea fisheries as it will not only touch zones untouched by the existing boats, but it will also afford a rapid means of transport—one of the indispensable conditions of wholesome fish supply".³

The small boats in use prevent them from taking all the sets of nets so as to use whenever occasion demands. The fishermen have to come back to the shore to carry fresh nets to catch particular varieties of fish. The catch is uncertain due to this system. The shoal sighted escape within the time and the chance is lost to the fishermen. The low capacity of 15 maunds is hardly capable of carrying 5 people and the necessary nets. An improvement in the sails is highly necessary. A lead has to be made by the Government to bring confidence in the minds of the fishermen in such improvements. Side by side with the improvement of sails net fishery must be improved. Launches equipped with Danish seines and Drag net can be tried.

Preliminary to the introduction of these, the government has to take the initiative in 'preparing the fishermen for the acceptance of these new methods.' Demonstration centres have to be established where a study of the local conditions of the fishing grounds as well as the fishing methods are studied and demonstrated to them. Practically nothing has been done by the Government in this line. The centres established in different places of the State have done very little to impart practical training to the people. These centres are very unsatisfactorily managed due to the insufficiency of fund and want of well qualified hands for the work in the respective centres. The existing centres need a thorough overhauling. Unless a thorough study in the working of these centres is made with the hearty cooperation of the Department and government authorities no workable suggestion can be made. Very little

³ Proceedings of the Dewan of Cochin Order, 3rd Dec, 1910,

information can be had from these centres even for people who are interested in the subject. Effective assistance can be given to these people by way of bounties and subsidies. The system of advancing money to individuals for the improvement of boats and nets on an instalment basis side by side with the guidance from the government centres would go a long way in improving the industry. The establishment of markets and grant of preferential rates for transport and administrative services in research and investigation include other forms of state assistance.

In Japan and Germany direct assistance in the form of bounties is given to the fishermen, and facilities are provided for the repair of boats and other gears in government workshops. Even in Japan we are told that government had to undertake experimental enquiry inspite of the progressive, responsive and enterprising spirit of its people who were also willing to accept taxation for special expenses. "The promotion of internal market is recognized governmental obligation in Canada, Denmark, France, Germany and Japan. Loans are granted to fishermen from public funds in Canada, France and Germany, the Irish Free State, Italy, Norway, Portugal and United Kingdom. In many cases the government instead of directly making loans to fishermen guarantee the loans which are raised from private sources and are made available to fishermen through lending agencies. This is the practice in Canada, United Kingdom and Norway. As regards the grant of preferential rates of transport, these concessions are allowed to fishermen as well as fish products, in Canada, Newfoundland and Germany. In Canada certain fish collection services are carried on entirely at the government's expense. In Germany the rates of freight charged over the railways are 20 per cent to 40 per cent below the usual freight rates. The other methods would include the holding of prize contests, inspection etc." *

The economic condition of the fisherfolk can be enhanced by improved methods in Curing. Preservation is done now in the old primitive method of salting and sun drying etc. No artificial heat is used in drying nor any means for keeping the catch prime and sweet. Uptodate modes of curing fish, such as canning, mealng, smoking, preserving fish in oil, wet pickling or salting, are not even dreamt of. Difficulties in the way of developing the industry are:—

- (1) The impossibility of developing an industry so as to make it beneficial to all classes; (2) the lack of leadership from the monied and intellectual classes due to their ignorance of the advantage of the industry to the community; (3) the inability of the fishermen to organize and develop the same due poverty and ignorance and (4) the absence State help for organized action.

* Sen, K. N., *Economic Reconstruction of India*, pages 161-62.

Sir Frederic Nicholson informs us that "on submitting the condition of Indian fisheries to experts in Great Britain, America and Germany whether officials or trade experts, there was but one opinion namely that the question of preservation is the crux of the problem in advance". Quick carriage centres should be established with facilities for the fishermen to preserve their fish at a nominal charge. A considerable amount of loss is incurred for want of modern scientific equipment for preservation. The decay of the fish would be prevented by providing cold storages, big artificial sea water wells, and barges filling sea-water to carry live fishes, speedy boats filled with refrigerator and refrigerator cars. Easy and cheap transport of fish should be effected by providing enough marketing centres where refrigerator store rooms are supplied to the sellers to avoid decay. Organized marketing on the basis of co-operation should be encouraged to eliminate the middlemen.

Popularising fish food should be the programme of any organization aiming at the economic uplift of the fishermen. "A popularly organized industry will not only make available a large supply of fish for food purposes, but it will lead to a much needed reduction in the price of fish so as to make it available even to the poorest people." There is much potential demand which so far as one can see will take a long time yet to be fully satisfied. Food marketing with systematic inspection into the quality and the surroundings must be organized. The standardization of prices followed by the system of sorting and grading of the quality of fish should be enforced in the markets. It should be the programme of the centralised agency to create markets abroad, secure concession rates and facilities for quick and easy transport. Further, advanced form of machinery encouraging allied industries to grow side by side should be introduced.

To put into effect a good programme to develop the industry, an intimate contact with the central agency and the fishermen has to be kept at all costs. These contacts are to be created through the fishing localities that are in existence. They are at present petty social organizations loosely knit. These centres should form the nucleus of bigger organizations for the community. Representatives from these bodies should be taken so as to constitute unions in suitable centres. These centralised institutions should set up programme for the community to follow and bring about general policies to be followed. It should be the aim of the central organization to deal with all problems that affect the community interest as a whole. Its functions should be:

- (1) To represent the grievances of the fishermen and seek remedies.
- (2) To control and supervise the working of local centres.
- (3) To conduct investigations and researches in the community with a view to improve the lot of the community.

- (4) To advise local centres as to the action they should take in matters of dispute.
- (5) To make known periodically through the community organ (a magazine in vernacular) the new developments in industry abroad and the results of research that is being done in the industry locally.
- (6) To educate the members in the development of social consciousness through propaganda.
- (7) To help in the production of right leadership in the community.
- (8) To fight social evils in the community through lectures, establishment of culture centres, clubs, discussions, magic lantern pictures etc.

In short, to deal with all major problems that affect the economic, social and cultural aspects of the community. The local centres should deal with the immediate necessities of the individual. It should have a centre where people can come together and the centres should be made attractive by providing them wholesome and worthy occupations. They should form centres of physical and cultural development. Each individual and family should be studied, and statistics kept. Actual leadership should come out of these centres which should be in close contact with the central organization and all information must be imparted to the members. While the central organizations look into the major problems of the community, the local centres in agreement with the community should foster self-help, co-operation and mutual aid among the members of the local organization and attend to their immediate necessities.

Thus, the big community organization through small local agencies would keep contact with the individual and would be a widely knit organization aiming at the development of the social, economic and cultural life of all individuals. In brief, the problem of the community is mainly economic. The improvement of the methods now employed in catching, curing, preserving and transporting fish; for stimulating the industry and the interest of the fishermen, the extension of the markets, widening the fields of exploitation, augmenting the supply of fish food and manure, conservation and development of the fisheries, for the cultivation of fish and the organizations of centres, a central agency for their proper administration, control, supervision and guidance are the suggestions embodied in this study. An efficient community organization, local and central, to direct the individual in the right path through powerful and well organized agencies, is the greatest need of the fisher folk to-day, for it alone will solve the problem of their economic and social uplift.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

PUBLIC HEALTH AS A SOCIAL SERVICE

PUBLIC Health in India has hardly ever been considered by governmental authorities as a factor of major importance to national welfare. As in the case of Education, the development of Public Health consciousness is left to stray individual or private efforts. One cannot expect much beyond a few suggestions thrown in here and there in such reports as those of the Royal Commission on Labour and of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India. Hence, even though the history of public health departments in India goes back to about sixty years, very slight improvements have been effected in the sanitary conditions of the towns while the rural areas have been sadly neglected.

It has been repeatedly asserted as a result of enquiries and investigations that some of the most important economic and social causes which contribute to infant and maternal mortality and to the high death rate in general are poverty, ignorance, bad housing, venereal diseases, inadequate recreational facilities, defective school training, insufficient income, malnutrition, unhygienic working conditions and backwardness in public health work, but no definite steps have yet been taken to tackle the problem on a nation-wide basis. The Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India in his Report for 1935 remarked : "No preventive campaign against malaria, tuberculosis or against leprosy; no maternity relief or child welfare activities are likely to achieve any great success unless those responsible recognize the vital importance of this factor of defective nutrition and from the very start give it their most serious attention. The first essentials for the prevention of disease are a higher standard of health, a better physique and a greater power of resistance to infection. These can only be attained if the food of the people is such as will give all the physiological and nutritional requirements of the human frame" which, in effect, implies better family income and a higher standard of living. Thus we arrive at the inevitable conclusion that if the deep-rooted economic and social causes are to be dealt with successfully, we must attach due importance to the role of social service in almost every branch of national welfare.

In the September 1941 issue of the *Journal* Dr. P. M. Titus and Dr. Roy Cohn discussed the need for medico-social work in India and made a strong

plea for the establishment of a social service department in Indian hospitals. Dr. John B. Grant, Director, All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, in the 1940 Basanta Lectures delivered at the Calcutta University on September 26th and 27th, voiced the same sentiments while enlarging on the trend and scope of public health as a social service. He defines Public Health as "the science and art of social utilization of scientific knowledge for medical protection by maintaining health, preventing disease, and curing disease *through organised community efforts*", and looks upon the Social Services as "the adjustment of Collectivism to the complexities resulting from science and machine industrialisation".

The main social problem in public health, according to Dr. Grant, is the lag between modern knowledge and its community utilization. This lag in public health he ascribes to five causes, the most outstanding among them being the absence of scientific investigation of methods to apply the results of pure research to groups of population. The other four causes are: the absence of a public opinion educated in the maintenance of health and the prevention of disease; inadequate economic consideration in planning of administration; the lack of adherence to administrative principles; and the absence of personnel trained in community application of the methodology resulting from scientific investigation.

The six postulates for public health as a social service enunciated by Dr. Grant are worthy of serious consideration. These are, the interdependence of social services; the maintenance of health by the people themselves through being possessed of adequate education in and practice of health knowledge; the necessity for the administration of special functions being undertaken only by a single governing body; the necessity for compromise in social progress but in terms of the whole design being before the mind; the requirement that administrative procedure must be based upon sound economic consideration and practicable financial budgeting; and, the requirement of personnel trained in administrative methods scientifically derived.

These postulates are excellent for National Public Health administration and would, no doubt, assure sound medical protection if adhered to in principle and practice. But in India such a dream is far from being realised. In the whole of British India there are only about 146 wholetime officers holding a Diploma in Public Health, and though the Maternity and Child Welfare Movement is certainly a move in the right direction, the 800 and odd maternity and infant welfare centres throughout India, as Sir John Megaw points out, are hardly worthy of the name. The Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau of the Red Cross Society which is an unofficial organization has done much to arouse interest in the subject and maintains seven schools for training Health

Visitors. These schools turn out about sixty or seventy Health Visitors every year, but this is hardly adequate. What we need most urgently is a network of well organised pre-natal and post-natal clinics and an efficiently trained body of social workers in rural and urban areas. One has only to study the actual death records to realise how pathetically slow the progress in rural sanitation, medical relief and the control of infectious diseases has been. So long as the Government is allowed to shirk its responsibility by merely stressing the difficulties involved, and so long as medical facilities for the protection and improvement of the health of the teeming millions of India remain woefully deficient, such invaluable lectures as these will be like a cry in the wilderness. However, they are extremely significant as introducing the social service bias in public health, and if we persist in our community efforts, we may one day realise the goal set forth in them.

REHABILITATING THE PRISONER

THE Problem of the rehabilitation of discharged prisoners has been engaging the attention of enlightened thinkers in all civilized countries.

Yet, in spite of the rapid strides made in the advancement of science and knowledge concerning human conduct and behaviour, our social values are still primitive and coloured by the traditional outlook of the pre-scientific era. Dr. Kumarappa in his article in the present issue of the *Journal* has described at length the evil effects of legal restraint on the mental life of the convict and shown clearly how the present-day methods used in bringing about reformation of character have failed completely as they are motivated by the principles of revenge and punishment. The concept of the criminal being born bad or evil or wicked is difficult to efface even in the vast majority of educated people, and knowledge regarding the sociological and psychological factors involved in crime still finds difficulty in being accepted.

Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy in his résumé of the origin and progress of the Bombay Released Prisoners' Aid Society describes the humble beginnings and the gradual progress of the Society since its inception a quarter of a century ago. Financial help, as in all such matters, has been very sporadic and uncertain. It was not till 1940 that the Rotary Club of Bombay came forward with an offer of a grant Rs. 150/- per month for six months for the employment of a Probation Officer to carry on investigations along approved lines and make his report to the Central Committee. The offer was accepted and Mr. Om Prakash Goel, a trained graduate of the Tata School, was appointed as the Society's Probation Officer.

• As a sequel to the appointment of the Probation Officer, a Special Case

Committee was formed to decide on the cases presented by the Probation Officer from time to time. The members made useful suggestions, and constructive work on more scientific lines is now being conducted in regard to discharged prisoners. The Probation Officer works not only in the Arthur Road Prison but also in the House of Correction at Byculla and in the Thana District Prison. Besides discussing with the prisoners a plan of their rehabilitation and arousing in them a genuine desire for reform after release, the Officer has, in many cases, interviewed employers of the convicts and arranged with them to keep their jobs vacant till their release. In the last two years more than 2,000 prisoners about to be released from the three jails in the City and Suburbs of Bombay have been interviewed.

That the Society has a fairly good record to its credit and has tried to fulfill its mission during the last 25 years can hardly be doubted. In spite of great financial handicap and lack of encouragement either from the Government or the public, the Society has been giving shelter to released prisoners at its Home at Agripada, providing food and clothes, supplying tools and other materials to assist in setting up trade or business, providing money for various urgent needs, assisting in finding employment and sending released prisoners to their villages, failing chance of finding employment in Bombay.

As a result of the recommendations of the Special Case Committee, two Honorary Men Probation Officers and two Honorary Lady Probation Officers have also been appointed to interview prisoners about to be released, investigate their past history and present requirements to the paid Probation Officer. Jobs were found for many of the ex-convicts after repeated calls not only on large employers like textile mills, the R. I. N. Dockyard and restaurants, but also on their previous employers. Every case was given individual attention and jobs were found for 60 ex-convicts in 1941 as against 22 in 1940. India is not so advanced in the treatment of crime nor is the public so kindly disposed to the fallen individual. Hence, out of 2,000 prisoners interviewed only 82 took advantage of the Society's efforts to find them employment.

In a country like India with its set ways and traditional outlook, the reformation, rehabilitation and the reintegration of the entire personality of the criminal is indeed an uphill task. It is to be hoped that greater dissemination of the knowledge of the causation of delinquency and criminality will make it possible for society to change its outlook and assist such deserving bodies as the Bombay Released Prisoners' Aid Society and the like in their humanitarian task of reclaiming ex-convicts to a normal, wholesome life of social participation.

HOW THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY CARES FOR ITS MOTHERS
AND INFANTS

The Maternity and Child Welfare movement has been gaining ground quite rapidly, and it is highly encouraging to note that the four important voluntary organizations in the Bombay Presidency, namely, the Bombay Presidency Infant Welfare Society, the Indian Red Cross Society (Child Welfare Section), the Bombay Presidency Baby and Health Week Association, and the Maternity Child Welfare and Health Council are coordinating their efforts and advocating social welfare throughout the Presidency.

The Sixth Annual Report of the Bombay Mofussil Maternity, Child Welfare and Health Council for 1941, and the Seventh Annual Report of the Baby and Health Week Association for the same year give ample proof of the excellent work done by these two well-organized groups. There are 60 centres under the guidance of the Council comprising 11 Maternity Homes, 32 Infant Welfare Centres and 17 combined Maternity and Infant Welfare Centres. The centres are served by 70 Registered Medical Practitioners either paid or honorary, 31 Diplomat Health Visitors, 12 Nurses, 25 Midwives and 18 Secondary Dais.

An interesting feature of the Council's work is the Rural Health Training Centre at the Sirur Health Unit where the students of the Poona Health School and of the Bombay Health Visitors' Institute spend a busy month doing house-visiting in the villages, giving health talks and magic lantern lectures in accordance with the programme prepared for them by the Medical Officer of the Health Unit at Sirur.

The Baby and Health Week Association works in close co-operation with the Council, and though the progress of both these institutions has been considerably checked for lack of finance, the Association has achieved remarkable results. In spite of great handicaps and financial difficulties, the Association continues to be the premier propaganda body and is conducting an organized campaign of mass education in the elementary principles and practice of health and hygiene, and personal, public and maternal care. The problem of nutrition is also being tackled by the Association and the efforts made during the last 17 years show that the health propaganda carried on by means of Health Exhibitions, Cinema shows, lectures etc., has succeeded in impressing the masses, and has been partially responsible for the introduction of welfare measures in rural areas, such as the starting of welfare centres, maternity homes, pre-natal and baby clinics, and Health Visitors' and Midwives' services.

The Association's activities include rural health propaganda, preventive propaganda against plague, cholera and small-pox, health propaganda for mill

operatives and their families, publications of health literature and investigation on cheap well-balanced diets. During the year, 266 Centres were helped and advised by the Association in 10 districts of the Presidency, and 62 Health and Child Welfare Exhibitions were organized together with 204 Cinema shows at the various centres. 86 lectures were arranged, and of these, 63 were illustrated with magic lantern.

Very important results are being obtained from research work on cheap well-balanced diets. One of the most significant findings of these researches is the discovery that Liver Oils of certain Indian fish such as "Ravas", "Kajura", "Mushi", "Ghol", "Kerli" etc. show vitamin A content in Blue Units greater than is found in Cod Liver Oil. They also show greater amounts of vitamin A than is found in Halibut Liver Oil. This is an important discovery and should be publicised and exploited to as great an extent as possible, for it cannot fail to have a very important and far-reaching effect in the field of nutrition and public health. It cannot be repeated too often that one of the chief causes of ill-health and poverty in India is poor nutrition, and the sooner the Government responds to the Association's earnest plea for a comprehensive Government nutrition policy, the better. "We should urge the Government," says the Association, "to place Nutrition on the same level as water-supply, etc. and set up a Nutrition Board under the direct charge of the Minister responsible for Public Health."

In view of the splendid work that is being done by these voluntary organizations, it is our sincere hope that adequate financial help will be forthcoming not only from the Government but also from private and public bodies so that their urgent needs (such as the provision of a Propaganda Van and other materials) might be met with in order that a larger number of people might receive the benefit of health programmes and that Social Welfare in the Presidency might become a dynamic force in the life of the people.

THE THIRD CONVOCATION OF THE TATA GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

ON Saturday the 28th of March the Third Convocation of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work was held with Sir Sorabji D. Saklatvala in the chair. The function was well attended by a large and representative body of Bombay citizens. The graduating students, the Trustees and the Faculty marched in procession and soon after they took their seats, Dr. J. M. Kumarappa gave a brief report of the working of the Institution. (Report for the session 1940-42 appears elsewhere in this issue.)

*In introducing the Convocation Speaker, Mr. R. P. Masani, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, the Chairman, Sir Sorabji D. Saklatvala reviewed briefly his important and manifold services during the last four decades as a prominent citizen of the City of Bombay. Among other things, he said :—

“Mr. Masani has at least three claims to address us. On the academic side, he has had a most distinguished career as an educationist, culminating in his appointment three years ago as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University; on the practical side he has a fine reputation as an administrator and business man. Last, but not least, he is a zealous social worker and with his name are associated many notable welfare movements in our city, particularly the movement designed to ameliorate the lot of our poorer children. Mr. Masani was one of the founders of the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India, which has done so much to improve the conditions for juvenile offenders and for the neglected youth of our city and province. As Vice-President of the Bombay Vigilance Association, he has also rendered useful service in an important sphere of welfare work. Mr. Masani has touched life at many interesting points For over a decade he was Secretary of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, and for six years served as our Deputy Municipal Commissioner, acting as Municipal Commissioner exactly twenty years ago.

“From municipal administration Mr. Masani turned to banking and it was typical of him that before joining the Central Bank of India as its Manager, he went to England to study banking for two years. Here again the combination of academic knowledge with practical training found recognition in his appointment as Secretary to the Provincial Banking Inquiry Committee and later as Joint Secretary of the Central Banking Inquiry Committee. Mr. Masani is a Fellow of the Indian Institute of Bankers and was for some time a member of the Central Board of the Reserve Bank of India.

"For the busy man he is, it is remarkable that Mr. Masani should have found time to write the many books he has on a variety of interesting topics, ranging from such diverse subjects as "Child Protection" and "The Folklore of Wells" to "Great Poets of Persia and India," the "Evolution of Self-government in Bombay" and "The Law and Procedure of the Bombay Municipal Corporation." More recently Mr. Masani has shone as the official biographer of India's Grand Old Man, the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Some of Mr. Masani's works have been translated in European languages, including French and Dutch, and besides writing in English, Mr. Masani has also written several Gujarati books and novels."

After thus describing briefly the range of activities which testify to the remarkable talent and ability of the distinguished guest, the Chairman invited him to deliver the Convocation Address.

In his highly inspiring and noteworthy Convocation Address, Mr. Masani made a stirring appeal to the young men and women of India to sink all differences of opinion and with complete national unity and solidarity stand on a common platform and put in a joint and whole-hearted effort in building up a formidable National Front for the defence of the country. He launched a strong attack on the trenches of ignorance and folly, and emphasized the need for combating evil in all its manifestations and thus striving with a steadfast faith in humanity for the perfection of human society. Addressing himself to the graduating students, Mr. Masani said : "As University graduates, you are scholars first and social workers afterwards; your service to the community will be the fruit of your scholarship. And what is scholarship if not knowledge based on the foundation of that enlightened outlook which enables one to see life steadily and see it whole? When we find ourselves in a madly disordered world, when men's minds are, so to say, sent to prison, when control of reason and regimentation of opinions are the order of the day, independent thinking must be at a discount. All the more keenly, however, we feel its want to-day. One's education is valueless, indeed, if one is not trained to correct modes of thinking."

Stressing the value of intellectual honesty and charity he observed: "In order that individuals should steer clear of eccentricity on one side and convention on the other, they should be trained to think like other people sufficiently to make their thinking for themselves worth while.

"The world is not devoid of people who possess moral integrity but many of them are sadly wanting in disciplined thinking and integrity of the intellect. They have never learned the real meaning of the words principle and conviction. They have not gained either by habit or through training the power to think clearly. Intellectual integrity is one of the clamant needs of

civilization. Is it too much to suggest that it should be the mission of the graduates of this School of Social Work not merely to combat social evil, not merely to alleviate human suffering, not merely to promote efficiency in welfare work, not merely to introduce scientific technique and methods in the organization of social service, not merely to propagate the gospel of compassion and charity and to awaken a new social conscience, but also to combat the evil of ignorance and irrationalism? In fulfilling this mission I am sure the knowledge of psychology and sociology given to you in this Institution will be of immense value. This is the age of the crowd and the demagogue in which emotion rules and reason is dethroned. One of the most valued services which social workers could render to society in such circumstances would be to teach men and women that one of the main functions in life is to form the habit of tracing facts and theories, to controlling evidence and principles and not to allow one's reason to be dominated by one's own or anyone else's doubt, distrust, fear or any other emotion. But before you can teach them to think, you will have to educate the vast adult population. What a wide vista of work is thus opened out for you!"

With regard to the possibility of the creation of a central institution for the tackling of social, political and economic problems in the light of original research, Mr. Masani stated: "Considering the magnitude of the work that lies ahead for social workers in diverse fields, one is impelled to ask: "Where are the workers?" For rearing systematically trained workers your Institution is the only one of its kind. What can a handful of students passing out from its portals achieve where the collaboration of hundreds is needed? Two years ago, I had the privilege of working on a Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education to examine various issues arising in connection with a proposal to establish a centre or centres in India for study in social services and public administration. On this Committee my most valued and helpful colleague was Dr. Clifford Manshardt, a name ever to be mentioned in this Institution with the deepest feelings of affection and esteem for all that he has done to bring it into being and to make it an object-lesson of what a school for training servants of society should be.

"The Committee felt that a country so vast in extent, so varying in social and economic conditions presented many complicated problems which could only be tackled in the light of original research. It was of opinion that there should be a central institution at which the main issues arising in connection with social welfare in the widest sense might receive impartial and scientific examination. While the proposed principal function of such an institution was the study of social problems rather than the training of social workers, emphasis was laid on the fact that if its researches were to be prac-

tical and its influence far-reaching, it should be staffed by people with as wide an experience as possible for social service in a concrete form. It was to be expected that the staff and students of such a central institution would be drawn from workers in provincial centres, whether voluntary or professional, and that they would, in due course, return to practical work, thus making the institution a clearing house of information and ideas, a research bureau, and a kind of staff college for senior social welfare officers. In order, however, that the institution might be at all times in close touch with practical problems and have some places where actual experiments could be carried out, it was considered desirable that there should be closely associated with it, if not under the same direction, a training school for social workers.

"The Committee also considered what direct contribution Universities might be expected to make in this sphere. While they did not regard as practicable the suggestion then put forward that some personal participation in social service should be made a condition of the award of a degree, they felt that Universities might render help of considerable value by enlarging the scope of their extramural departments and by encouraging students to regard social service as the discharge of an obligation towards the less fortunate sections of the country.

"As regards the machinery required to give effect to the scheme, the Committee envisaged the need of an All-India Council of Social Service with a central institution under its control at which the main problems could be studied. It was held that in addition to research it would be the business of the central body and the central institution to establish and maintain contact with provincial centres which would in turn stimulate and co-ordinate social service activities in their own areas.

"We cannot complain if, owing to the situation created by the war, action in regard to the recommendations of the Committee is delayed, but the urgent need for action in the directions indicated by the Committee should not be lost sight of. If the fruition of the project must take time, may I suggest that full advantage may be taken of this School of Social Work and of the University School of Economics and Sociology in Bombay? The strongest point in favour of the Dorabji Tata School is that it is youthful in its outlook and adaptable to the needs of research and significant national service. The success achieved by its graduates wherever their services have been requisitioned is a guarantee of the practical training received by them with the necessary academic background and the fundamental equipment of scholarship supplied by the School. What it lacks in respect of research would be made good by the University School of Economics and Sociology. The research work done in the School covers a wide variety of topics. The library of the

School consisting of 26,000 volumes is the best of its kind perhaps in India. The two schools would thus together provide a fine centre for economic and social studies and research and for theoretical as well as practical training in social therapy."

In conclusion the speaker said, "Now a word to the goodly company of young men and women who are about to march out from this school into a new and strange world. Hope and confidence should be the feelings uppermost in your mind. You pass out of the gates of this School under the shadow of a great tragedy. At the same time, you go out to the world with the halo of a great tradition, which has been slowly forming since the Nagpada Neighbourhood House, illumined this locality with the spirit of service. Year after year its usefulness has grown. Every succeeding year has crowned it with strength and beauty. Here you have come under the spell of its influence. Here you have caught its significance and purpose. And is not the very name Tata the symbol of that spirit? What other name in the history of India can we think of as a synonym for enlightened beneficence and national service? Being a child of one of the Tata Trusts, the School may be said to have inherited the Tata tradition. Instinct with that tradition and spirit of service, you, my young friends, take with you, each and all, to the world outside, the sincerest goodwill of the Institution of which you have been student members.

"Modern city life makes many victims. Be it your mission to stir the public to the pathos of their lives and to secure for them as much relief as possible. Be it the crowning glory of your work that you improve the little corner of the world in which you are placed and bring sunshine to the people around you. The best advice that I can give you is to remember that the worth and influence of your service will depend on the confidence you will command. The trust reposed in you will in turn depend on your own confidence in the intrinsic value of your plans for betterment and your ability to execute them. 'Deeds not words' have an added significance for social workers. Keep your facts ahead of your plans and your deeds ahead of your words. I would ask you in this connection to remember what Professor Arthur Holt, whose death we deeply deplore, said in an address delivered at the opening of this School, five years ago: 'Keep your spirits high but march not with the blare of the brass band but with the chart and the map and the blue print in your hand.'

"May you be equal in all ways to the highest and noblest demands of a life dedicated to service! May you all find usefulness wherever you are placed! Name and fame and glory I shall pass by, for I know that, stirred by the true spirit of service, you do not and will not consider them worth thinking of save as incidents to usefulness. But with usefulness most heartily do I

wish you also happiness—happiness that springs from the consciousness of work well done.”

At the close of this inspiring Address, Dr. J. M. Kumarappa presented the graduating students to the Chairman for the award of the Diploma in Social Service Administration. The names of the candidates, together with their theses subjects, are given below:—

<i>Candidate</i>	<i>Thesis Subject</i>
Appalaswamy, Miss G. Kantarathnam, B. A., Madras University, 1931. Hyderabad, Deccan.	“A Survey of Social Work Done in the Hyderabad State with Special Reference to the Cities of Hydera- bad and Secunderabad.”
Bhave, Jagannath Vasudeo, B. A., Nagpur University, 1937. Nagpur, C. P.	“A Survey of Landless Agricul- tural Labour in a Berar Village.”
Desai, Miss Aloo F., B. A., Bombay University, 1937. Bombay.	“An Enquiry into the Adequacy or Otherwise of the Food Consumed by a Section of the Parsee Poor.”
Desai, Navinchandra Ambelal, B. A., Bombay University, 1936; LL. B., „ „ 1940. Surat District.	“A Study of the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association.”
Girdhari Lal, B.A., Agra University, 1940. Meerut, U. P.	“A Study of Fifty Habitual Crimi- nals and a New Policy in Penal Institutions.”
Gupta, Jagdish Prasad, B. A., Agra University, 1933; LL.B., „ „ 1935. Meerut, U. P.	“A Study of One Hundred Juvenile and young Offenders in Juvenile Jail, Bareilly—Causes, Treatment and Recommendations.”
Kulkarni, Miss Lila J., B.A., Bombay University, 1939. Bombay.	“Living Conditions of Women Tex- tile Workers in Bombay.”
Mahajan, Yeshwant Dattatraya, B.A., Bombay University, 1938. Poona.	“Bombay Government Labour Com- missioner’s Office at Work.”
Mampilly, Cherian Joseph, B.A., Madras University, 1930. Narakkal, Cochin State.	“The Social and Economic Condi- tions of the Fishermen Community (Araya) in a Cochin Village (Nar- akkal).”

Modi, Miss Maki S.H.,
B.A., Bombay University, 1940.
Bombay.

Nagaraj, Akkihebal Gopalaiah,
B. Sc., Mysore University, 1938.
Mysore State.

Naik, Miss Keshar Baburao,
B.A., Bombay University, 1940.
Junagadh, Kathiawar.

Nanda, Delip Chanda,
B. Sc., Punjab University, 1938.
Eminabad, Punjab. •

Patil, William David G.
B.A., Bombay University, 1939.
Belgaum.

Sukhnandan, Mrs. Lily James,
B.A., Lucknow University, 1931.
Bilaspur, C. P.

Candidate for Certificate

Dighe, Kamalakar Ganpat,
Bombay.

“Education of Children Between the
Age of Three and Seven Years,
Residing at the Sir C. J. Colony,
Tardeo.”

“A Study of Juvenile and Young
Offenders in Bangalore Central
Jail.”

“A Preliminary Directory of Social
Work Institutions in Poona City.”

“Teachers’ Attitudes Towards Beha-
viour Problems of Children.”

“A Survey of Protestant Mission
Social Work in Bombay City.”

“Medical Social Service with Parti-
cular Reference to its Adaptation
to Indian Rural Conditions.”

Thesis Subject

“Home Conditions Influencing Juve-
nile Delinquency.”

The Convocation terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Speaker proposed by Dr. B. H. Mehta of the Faculty.

THE SIR DORABJI TATA GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1940-42

THE Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work was founded in 1936 by the Trustees of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, as a tangible expression of their belief that if qualified medical doctors are necessary to attend to the physical health of our people, it is equally necessary to have adequately trained professional social workers to safeguard the social health of the nation. In this report my attempt is to present a brief review of the major activities of the School, the Child Guidance Clinic and the Bureau of Research and Publications, during the last two years.

I am sorry to have to open this report by referring to the sudden departure of Dr. Clifford Manshardt to his homeland in June 1941 for family reasons. As the organizer and first Director of this Institution, Dr. Manshardt has made a distinct contribution to professional education for social work in India. To me his departure is a personal loss as it was my privilege to be associated with him in shaping the school even before it was brought into existence. His resignation has been a great misfortune to the School in particular and to the City of Bombay in general. While recording our regrets, we are at the same time happy that he has found congenial work in his homeland to invest his talents and experience.

Another shocking news that reached us two months ago is the sudden death of Dr. Arthur E. Holt of the University of Chicago. Dr. Holt was Visiting Professor at our School in the year of its inception and gave a tone to the Institution which has been of lasting value. Here again we record our deep sense of loss of an old colleague and friend whose advice and encouragement we valued very much.

Class of '42.—The class which graduated in March 1942 was admitted to the School in June 1940. We started with 23 students—13 boys and 10 girls. In this admission the School maintained again its All-India character, the new students representing the following provinces and universities :—

Provinces and States

Bengal
Bombay Province
Central Provinces
Cochin State

Universities

Agra University
Bombay „
Lucknow „
Madras „

Hyderabad (Dn.)	Mysore University
Kathiawar	Nagpur ,,
Madras	Oxford ,,
Mysore State	Punjab ,,
Punjab	

Out of these one student left us about the end of the first year to go to Canada for special training in Hospital Nursing, two accepted jobs after a year's training, one was selected for appointment in the Emergency Military Commission and another discontinued owing to ill-health. The rest of the students who completed the two-year course received the Diploma in Social Service Administration at the Third Convocation of the School held on the 28th of March. (An Account of this function is given elsewhere in this issue of the Journal with the candidates' names and theses subjects.) Each candidate for the Diploma had carried from 14 to 16 hours of classroom work per week, had submitted a satisfactory thesis and had successfully completed the terminal examinations.

Though they, like the previous graduates, did their best to meet the requirements of the School, they would have gained much more out of the instruction given here had their academic background been what our School demands. In this connection I may be pardoned for repeating a complaint we have made before against our present system of University education. Quite contrary to the educational trends in other countries and in spite of the increasing realisation of the need for a thorough understanding of social problems in terms of social processes, social sciences receive only a step-motherly treatment in our universities. Hence, we are obliged to give one fourth of our professional training period to pre-professional courses. We hope our Universities will, in the not distant future, introduce social sciences into the undergraduate curriculum, and thus release us from doing in the postgraduate school what ought to be done in the undergraduate stage.

Scope of Training.—While the School, as a graduate institution, seeks to maintain a high academic standard, it also seeks to be as practical as is possible under existing conditions in an institution like this. It believes that scholarly attitudes are not incompatible with simplicity and common sense, and that the test of the professional social worker is his ability to give himself in intelligent, skillful and disinterested service to others. No short curricula for special types of positions, or specialized courses in preparation for a single field of social work are offered. The main aim of our School is to give an understanding of the fundamental principles that are necessary in all branches of the profession, and of the scientific methods of studying and investigating social problems. The fundamental courses in social case work, child welfare,

social statistics, Indian social problems, public welfare administration, medical social work, social psychiatry, social legislation, organization of welfare activities and the history of philanthropy and public welfare are a necessary part of the equipment of all social workers. Hence, specialization is discouraged.

There is some misunderstanding with regard to practical training to be given by an institution like ours. At one extreme are those who hold that a school for training social workers should be mainly a practical training centre, and at the other are those who maintain that a postgraduate school for social workers should provide no practical training, and that its function is only to provide the best scientific knowledge on social work and its nature, and modern techniques. This latter position is taken by many leading institutions in the United States as they believe that any attempt to provide practical training will jeopardize academic standards and that students should therefore acquire practical skill only on the job later. We, on the other hand, believe in giving a certain amount of familiarity with practical work combined with the necessary academic equipment. Our main difficulty, however, is in finding social service institutions which are run on modern lines. Most of the centres are staffed with untrained workers and are run on unscientific lines. Obviously, we cannot send our students to such places as the practical experience gained there will go counter to the standards we uphold. But now with the increasing employment of our own graduates by some of these agencies, it is becoming possible to provide greater and greater facilities for practical training.

Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that our school is not really a "practical training centre". It is, as its name indicates, a higher academic institution for giving professional education in social work. As this is a postgraduate institution, our academic policy is not merely that of imparting information but even more of providing guidance and direction. We believe that a correct understanding of the problem is more important than learning a ready-made programme of action. Our attempt, therefore, is to train professional social workers in a scientific method of approach, and cultivate in them an objective attitude towards social problems. To this end, our courses are designed to give them a knowledge of the social structure and the springs of human behaviour, of the general field of social work, and particular techniques of social work. Through Research Seminars and courses in Social Investigation and Statistics, habits of accuracy, observation, expression and correct interpretation of social problems are developed.

Agencies Served.—"What do your students do after graduation?" is a question people often ask. Of the 36 graduates of the last two batches, 9 are probation officers, 2 are superintendents of Children's Homes, 5 are labour welfare officers, 4 are labour officers, 2 are Municipal welfare officers, 5 are hold-

ing responsible positions in private social service agencies, one is a psychiatric social worker, and two are doing research. Three young women have accepted marriage as a career; in looking after their families they are utilizing their training to good advantage ! Of the present batch, the majority have already been placed, and the rest are being considered for jobs recently sanctioned.

The above figures make it clear that a good number of the graduates are engaged in work either with children or with labour i. e. with the cradle and the backbone of the nation. It also reveals that the enactment of social legislation creates a greater demand for trained social workers. The introduction of the Children Act in various provinces alone will absorb a large number of professional social workers.

The various agencies which are being served by our graduates are :—

- The Children's Aid Society, Lahore, Punjab.
- Labour Welfare Department of Delhi Cloth Mills, Delhi.
- Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, U. P.
- Rural Development Department, U. P. Government.
- The Lucknow Social Service League, U. P.
- Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., Jamshedpur.
- Indian Jute Mill Association, Calcutta.
- The Children's Aid Society, Bombay.
- Society for the Protection of Children in Western India, Bombay.
- Sheppard After-Care Association, Bombay.
- District After-Care Association, Ahmednagar.
- District After-Care Association, Poona.
- Labour Welfare Department, Municipal Corporation, Bombay.
- Backward Class Office, Government of Bombay.
- Labour Department, Government of Bombay.
- Labour Welfare Department, Government of Bombay.
- Labour Department, Khatau Makanji Mills, Bombay.
- Labour Department, Swadeshi Mills, Bombay.
- Labour Department, Tata Oil Mills, Bombay.
- The Indian Institute Reinforcement Camp (Indian Wing) Bombay.
- Bombay Presidency Released Prisoners' Aid Society, Bombay.
- The Parsi Panchayat, Bombay.
- The Welfare Centre of the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Colony, Bombay.
- The Child Guidance Clinic of the Tata School, Bombay.
- Yeravda Industrial School, Poona.
- Badrawati Iron Works, Mysore.
- The Children's Aid Society, Madras.
- Tata Oil Mills, Cochin.

Limited Enrolment.—The question now arises as to the very limited number of students we admit—only 20 or 25 and that once in two years. If we had admitted all those who sought admission, we should have turned out several hundreds by now. Are we to admit as many as are fit to be trained as social workers irrespective of the prospects of their being employed, or are we to limit the supply to meet the demand and thus minimize unemployment among our graduates? Since our School is now housed in a rented building where accommodation is not sufficient for larger numbers of students, and since professional social work has not yet come to be widely recognized, we are at present following the policy of limiting the supply.

Unemployed graduates of a school of social work will be a paradox in India where social problems are immense and manifold. In a country where there are more doctors than nurses, where ravages of disease and the number of unemployed medical graduates increase side by side, where lack of funds is the excuse for delaying programmes of social services, it is not perhaps a paradox. We cannot but bemoan the fact that our country compared with other countries is extremely backward in such matters. For instance, in the United States of America, there are about 40 professional schools of social work with a total enrolment of over 12,000 students. If a country with a population only one-third as large as ours and a per capita income thirty times as large as ours requires so many professionally trained social workers, India's social needs would call for a much larger army of workers. Only when our public and private bodies fully recognize their social responsibility, can our social needs be met adequately by the employment of a larger number of trained workers. In the meanwhile our School has to play the role both as a training centre for a limited number of social workers and as an agitator for new fields of operation. We believe that where human values are involved nothing matters excepting adequate service.

The Students' Association.—The Students' Association was unusually active during this session with a wide and varied programme of lectures, debates, games and socials. It is the general practice to elect every term a new executive committee with sub-committees for the above activities in order to give each student some experience in working on committees and shouldering responsibilities. While the Students' Association is not engrossed in serious professional activities, like the Alumni Association, it believes in developing wholesome personalities by widening its social and intellectual life through such activities.

Hence, excursions, visits to places of interest, indoor and outdoor games and extramural tournaments and matches with the alumni formed part of their recreational activities, while debates mainly on Indian problems, and lectures at the social hour almost every week by prominent guest speakers,

like Mr. Verrier Elwin, Prof. O. V. C. Wystimsky (Director of Pioneer Research Institute, Poland), Mr. M. M. Rasool, Dr. Atal, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar of the Calcutta University, Prof. Radhakumud Mukerjee of Lucknow University, Dr. Ida Scudder of Vellore Medical School, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and others, comprised their intellectual activities. Students look upon this Association as their own and take much interest in its functions.

The Alumni Association.—The Alumni Association, which was organised in March 1940 primarily with the objects of serving as a link between the School and its graduates, furthering the cause of social work in India and helping to promote social research activities by building up a professional morale, has had a fairly busy time in spite of the fact that most of the alumni find little leisure, being fully occupied with their own work. Nevertheless, they participated in several worthwhile activities, both professional and otherwise.

Their cultural activities consisted of lectures by prominent people while their social activities, such as afternoon parties, dinners, picnics and tournaments in Badminton, Basketball, Tennis, Carrom, Draughts and Ping-pong, brought them in close contact with the Students' Association. These enjoyable functions serve the purpose of drawing together the alumni and affording them the opportunity to discuss their various professional problems.

Once a year they meet in conference which is known as the Social Workers' Conference. The second such conference was held in the Library of the School on March 13, 1941. Dr. Miss K. H. Cama presided. It was well attended by the students and members of the Faculty. Mr. Edward's paper on "Problems of the Labour Officer in Textile Industry", Mr. Goel's talk on "Problems of the Probation Officer Working with Released Prisoners", and Mr. Harshe's vivid account of "Work with Juvenile Delinquents in Poona" aroused interesting and illuminating comments. The discussions proved so lively and took up so much time that the proposed debate on "Social Reform Should Precede Social Work" had to be cancelled.

The third conference, presided over by Dr. B. H. Mehta, was held on March 15, 1942. At this conference, the alumni were fortunate enough to have Srimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, who delivered the opening address which covered her observations of social work in the United States. Mr. Mehkri's paper on "Social Worker and Social Revolution" and the subject of "Social Work in Wartime" started a lively discussion in which many of those present participated and gave valuable suggestions. This time again, due to lack of time, Mr. Ram and Mr. L. Renu were unable to read their papers bearing on their respective fields. The day's proceedings ended with a pleasant social arrangement by the Alumni Association.

Library.—One of the best tests of a good academic institution is the

quality of its library. Our School has not only an excellent working library but one which is in constant use. It contains the best books in the social field as well as reports and periodicals of professional interest. Since no textbooks are prescribed to supplement classroom instruction but only a large amount of collateral reading and references are given, students not only make good use of the books in the library but learn how to gather material from various sources. By special arrangement, the library also supplies two or three books at a time if required by old students of the School. The alumni, I am glad to say, are availing themselves of this privilege to good advantage.

Social work is a new and ever-developing profession; it is therefore necessary for a school of social work to keep abreast of the latest development in this line. To make the best literature in this specialized field available to the students and the faculty, we have been very carefully building up our library by adding new publications bearing on the various aspects of social work and allied subjects. During the last six years some 4,000 books and 75 current periodicals, both Indian and foreign, have been added to the library.

The Faculty and Extramural Activity.—The School not only trains social workers but is itself a social servant. The Faculty is obliged to give much time to a programme of public education, interpreting the School and its ideals, and explaining the newer conception of social work. The members of the Faculty have placed themselves unsparingly at the service of the public and have delivered a large number of public addresses and given broadcast talks on social problems. Three of them read papers at the recent Indian Science Congress held in Baroda. They frequently contribute articles to *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, to the press and other professional journals. They serve on important committees connected with social service agencies and in other ways provide assistance and leadership. Just recently, we were asked to help in framing the curriculum for the Women's Training Camp—which was held in Abrama for about three months—organized by the All India Women's Conference. In response to their request some members of the Faculty delivered lectures at the Camp and participated in its activities. Often the School receives requests for advice upon specific social problems from different parts of India. Thus it is coming to be recognized more and more as a clearing house on matters of social welfare.

II

THE CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC.—In addition to the training of social workers, the School is maintaining a Child Guidance Clinic which was brought into being some five years ago in order, first, to serve our students as a laboratory where they could not only gain practical experience in working with

problem children referred to the Clinic by different agencies but also learn to diagnose and treat such cases. And, secondly, to provide guidance and treatment to juveniles with personality difficulties. The report on the working of the Clinic during the years 1940-42 is given below as presented by Dr. K. R. Masani, its Director and Psychiatrist:—

The Child Guidance Movement is one of the outstanding endeavours in the field of child welfare. Its scope extends not only to providing direct aid and treatment to children presenting various behaviour and personality problems, but also indirectly to coming generations of children, through patient study and research into the causation and prevention of such problems of maladjustment. The Child Guidance Clinic, the unit of the Child Guidance Movement, is unique in that it deals with the child in his total setting. The whole range of the multiplicity of the causes of the misbehaviour, or of the problem, are studied by trained specialists in the fields of pediatrics, psychiatry, psychology and social work—these different workers co-operating in joint therapeutic endeavours for each child.

The Child Guidance Clinic of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work was started in 1937—the first of its kind in the Bombay Presidency. It was started for the children of the poorer classes and therefore as a free Clinic, on an experimental basis, with due regard to the fact that social conditions being different in our country from those existing in Europe and America, a number of special difficulties would have to be overcome and many modifications employed in the actual running of the clinic. Although it has been found necessary to employ certain modifications based on differences of language and culture, the results of about five years of work have shown that the same fundamental approach to the problem yields satisfactory results and that the difficulties of running the Clinic, though greater on account of the low standard of education of the parents as also on account of the multiplicity of languages spoken, are not significantly more numerous than in countries with Western culture.

The Child Guidance Clinic of the Tata School is a Clinic for the scientific study and treatment of children suffering from various behaviour disorders such as unmanageableness, stealing, lying, truancy, sex offences, violence, destructiveness; personality disorders such as obstinacy, shyness, sensitiveness, moodiness, depression, fears, nervousness, day dreaming; habit disorders such as bed-wetting, thumb sucking, nail biting, masturbation, fidgets, stuttering; disorders in scholastic achievement when these are due to emotional disturbances in the child's life; and from physical symptoms or medical disorders such as fits, involuntary movements,—paralysis, loss of sensation, aches and pains, and disturbances of appetite, digestion and breathing,

when these are based on emotional factors.

The following few examples indicate some of the different types of children dealt with:

“A”, aged 11, was brought to the Clinic because of stealing and telling lies. His father stated that he had tried every method of treatment from coaxing and advising to thrashing him severely. Lately the severe thrashings, though very frequent, were found to be completely useless and so the father had applied to the magistrate to send the boy to a reformatory school.

“B”, aged 14, was brought by her mother because she was unmanageable at home and had displayed physical violence. She suffered moreover from abdominal pains and bed-wetting.

“C”, a boy aged 14, was brought by his father for stealing, truancy and gambling. He also stammered badly. His father had tried all methods of punishment including banging the boy’s head against the wall. As these methods did not improve him in the least, his father brought him to the Clinic.

The Clinic does not accept mental defectives for treatment but these are often brought by parents or sent by agencies for mental testing. In those cases where an estimate of intelligence indicates gross mental defect, it is explained to the parents that the Clinic is not a suitable place for such children, but is meant essentially for children of average intelligence, suffering from behaviour problems and emotional difficulties. Mild cases of mental defect, however, are admitted, especially when there are super-added emotional difficulties.

The aims and objects of the Clinic may be stated as follows:—

- (1) To provide the community with a co-ordinated team of trained workers in the field of Pediatrics, Psychiatry, Psychology and Social Work for the purpose of study and treatment of children presenting behaviour, personality, habit and scholastic problems as also disturbances of physical functioning when these are due to emotional or psychological causes.
- (2) To assist in the development of mental hygiene techniques and concepts through such study and experience.
- (3) Through formal courses of lecture seminars and through talks and informal lectures to transmit the results of such study to parents, teachers, and Social Case Workers, such as probation officers, and especially to students in training at the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work—physicians and others who are intimately connected with the care and upbringing of children.

Activities of the Clinic

Types of Clinical Service.—The Clinic maintains several kinds of service to meet the individual requirements in each case,

1. *Clinic of Study and Service.*—The Clinic undertakes responsibility for the entire study and treatment of the case.
2. *Co-operative Study and Service.*—Here the co-operative case work agency undertakes the collection of the social history and the subsequent social treatment of the case. The remainder of the study and treatment, namely, physical, psychological and psychiatric is undertaken by the Clinic.
3. *Advice or Special Service.*—Parents sometimes seek advice or guidance in regard to problems which is given as a result of which there appears to be no need for further study or more intensive treatment. Mental Testing for diagnosis and certification of mental deficiency also forms part of the Special Service.
4. *Consultation Service.*—Sometimes agencies consult the Clinic Staff regarding a problem in a particular child or in a more general way regarding the methods, ways and means, and the application of psychiatric techniques to difficult children. The Clinic has attempted to supply such help and information whenever possible.

As regards Full Service Cases it may be noted that almost all cases dealt with are Clinic Cases. There are very few co-operative cases for the simple reason that the social agencies in most parts of India including the Bombay Presidency have not an adequate number of Social Workers attached to their staff nor did they until quite recently engage workers trained in social case work on their staff. Hence, in the vast majority of cases referred by social agencies, these agencies were not in a position to collect adequately the social history, or to carry out social treatment. This is a very important point, as it makes a very considerable difference in regard to the capacity of the Clinic so far as the number of children annually admitted and treated is concerned.

In countries where social agencies are staffed with personnel with training and experience of social case work, the social case workers are able to collect the social history and apply methods of social treatment, thereby saving a very large amount of time for the Clinic Staff who can naturally thus handle a bigger case load. In this connection in view of the very large proportion of time of the Clinic staff being spent in social contacts, both for collection of history and for social treatment, it can be readily appreciated how the fact of referrals by agencies with inadequate numbers on their staff or with inadequately trained staff sets a very severe limitation on the ability of the Clinic to handle a large number of children, which it otherwise would be in a position to do. It thus becomes necessary to augment the psychiatric social work personnel of the Clinic if the growing demands of the community

as existing at present are to be met satisfactorily. It is hoped therefore in view of this special difficulty as also on account of the increasing demands made on the Clinic to treat larger numbers of children to be able to have shortly an additional social worker on the staff of the Clinic to assist the chief psychiatric social worker. In regard to the special service and consultation cases a great many are admitted for mental testing to determine the presence or degree of mental defect. These children are either brought by parents or are referred by the Juvenile Court or Social Agencies for an estimate of their Intelligence Quotient.

Clinic Procedure.—When a case is referred to the Clinic a general idea of the problem for which the child is sent is first obtained by the Psychiatric Social Worker or Psychiatrist from the parent or person accompanying the child. During such an interview the child is taken to the playroom and is encouraged to indulge in any play he likes. If the case is deemed suitable, and accepted for regular full service at the Clinic, the following investigations are carried out by the different workers.

The Psychiatric Social Worker obtains a detailed social and developmental history from the parents and guardians of the child. Visits are paid to the home, school and other institutions with which the child comes into contact, to get a more accurate picture of the environment of the child.

The Pediatrist conducts a thorough physical examination of the child. The physical examination makes it possible to detect cases whose problems are caused or complicated by organic disturbances. Certain bodily conditions are known to lead to behaviour and personality disorders and these are sought for and corrected. In view of the fact that a large proportion of the children sent to the Clinic have had a physical examination at a hospital or dispensary, just prior to being referred to the Clinic, physical examination is not made as a routine in every case but only in the cases of those who have had no such examination. It is proposed in the future, however, to arrange for a physical examination in every case.

The Psychologist administers mental tests to every case to ascertain the mental capacities of the child—this estimate being necessary for a proper understanding of the child's difficulties. If the results show gross mental deficiency the case is not accepted for treatment, as the clinic endeavours to limit its activities to the problems of children of average intelligence. Children showing only a slight degree of mental defect are accepted.

The Psychiatrist observes the child during play, and through such observation, and verbal contacts with the child during play, acquires an insight into the emotional factors which are mainly or partly responsible for the problem. The Psychiatrist is considerably helped in this diagnosis of the

nature of the emotional factors by reports from the play room workers of their observations of the child's play, carried out during the friendly contacts they make with the child.

Formulation of a Treatment Programme.—The different sets of facts regarding the child gathered in these ways by the Psychiatric Social Worker, the Pediatrist, the Psychologist and the Psychiatrist are co-ordinated and evaluated during discussions, with a view to arrive at as complete and detailed a diagnosis of the nature of the problem as possible, and a treatment programme is then planned. The progress of the case is followed and changes are made from time to time according to the individual needs of each case.

Having arrived at a diagnosis and formulated a treatment programme, therapeutic measures are instituted by the different workers. Before describing the work done by these workers, it would not be out of place here to state some of the objectives of therapy influencing the treatment procedures at the Clinic.

There is firstly, of course, the removal of the particular act of misbehaviour: e. g., in the case of A, the removal of his stealing and lying. But more important than the removal of the specific type of misbehaviour is the fact that the treatment is directed to the child as a whole, in order to make him better adapted to his environment so as to produce harmonious relations between himself and others.

In bringing about such improved relations between the child and his environment some measure of peace and harmony is also brought to the parents, in so far as the lack of peace and harmony have been caused by the child's misbehaviour. The great relief brought to the parents, as a result of the removal of their child's difficulties, further helps in its turn in promoting healthier relations between the child and his parents and in bringing about a diminution in the child's problems.

Apart from the relief brought to the parents, another therapeutic objective is to bring about an alteration in such of the attitudes of the parents towards their children as appear to contribute to the production of the child's problem. In view of the intimate and invariable connection between the child's behaviour and the parental attitudes, it is usual to try and give the parents an insight into the connection between the two to alter the faulty attitudes and to replace these by healthier ones.

Then again, some of the parents who bring their children to the Clinic appear to suffer from definite personality disorders or psycho-neuroses. Some of these parents, themselves, approach the Psychiatrist for treatment. Other parents, while thus suffering from severe emotional difficulties, are not prepared to see the connection between their own emotionally disordered life and the behaviour or personality difficulty of the child. In either case there is the

further objective of treating one or both parents of the child in order first to remove their own illness, and thus to bring about an improvement in the child. What has been stated in regard to the parents, in the above exposition of the objectives influencing therapy holds good also for parent-substitutes, and other adults—such as teachers and relatives—who come in contact with the child.

To sum up the objectives of treatment, it might be said that attempts are made to deal with the whole personality of the child and to try to bring about more harmonious relations between the child and his environment, over and above the removal of the specific act of misbehaviour or the particular personality difficulty for which the child is referred. It goes without saying that, in order to produce the best results in bringing about such harmonious relations, attention is paid both to treating physical defects or disturbances and to building up sound physical health, and to giving help to the child for any remediable defects or blockings in his intellectual capacities. In effecting such a comprehensive therapeutic programme all the different workers co-operate in the treatment of each child, but it is convenient to describe the activities of each under the following separate heads.

Educational Activities.—Although some amount of educational service has been given by the Clinic mainly to students in training at the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work the educational programme of the Clinic has been limited. Several factors have contributed to the shortcoming not the least of which, until very recently has been the factor of absence of trained personnel who could carry out such a programme. At the inception of the Clinic about five years ago, only the psychiatrist of the Clinic was professionally trained and his hands were more than full with training the staff of the Clinic, both the psychiatric social worker and the psychologist, and in giving psychiatric treatment to the children. This naturally rendered it impossible for the psychiatrist of the Clinic to carry out any educational programme apart from systematic courses of lectures and informal seminars to the students of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work and popular lectures or informal talks to various societies or gatherings. Some time later, however, on account of an increase in professional skill and training of the main staff members, and due to the addition on the staff of a physician with practical psychiatric training and to the help of voluntary workers keenly interested in the subject, the situation became somewhat better as regards the educational aspect or function of the Clinic.

As members of the staff other than the Director were able to take part in educational activities at the same time as they took over from him part of the Clinical work, the Director was able to impart informal instruction to the various workers of the Clinic as also to social case workers of outside agencies

and other interested individuals. Informal seminars were held at which the workers of the Clinic and other interested individuals attended.

Several applications have been received in the past for systematic practical training in Child Guidance and the question of a diploma or certificate course of training was considered some time back but found difficult to put in practice in the past on account of lack of time on the part of the Director to impart instructions in the various branches of Child Guidance as there were no other adequately trained staff members who could undertake to assist in the training programme. More recently fresh representations have been made by serious students and agencies to arrange for systematic and formal practical training to be given to professional social workers, such as psychiatric social workers, probation officers, visiting teachers and other social case workers, and in view of these demands of the community and the increased ability of the Clinic staff to engage in systematic educational programme the question is being seriously considered of arranging for some form of formal training.

Two members of the Clinic Staff were requested by the Dadar Parsee Maternity and Infant Welfare Clinic to impart preliminary lecture courses in subjects connected with Mental Hygiene and Child Guidance, to be followed by the opening of a play Clinic at the Parsi Colony, Dadar, and systematic courses of instructions were given by Dr. J. C. Marfatia, Physician, and Mr. Raman C. Patel, Playroom Supervisor at the Clinic. On the completion of their theoretical courses the workers have been attending the Child Guidance Clinic to take practical training as playroom workers and the arrangement is mutually beneficial as the Clinic is in need of playroom workers.

The Staff

The Staff at the close of the year 1941 was as follows :—

Director and Psychiatrist ...	K. R. Masani, M.R.C.S. (Eng.), L.R.C.P. (London), D.P.M.
Hon. Physician...	... Dr. J. C. Marfatia, M.B., B.S.
Psychiatric Social Worker...	Mrs. Indira Renu, B.A., B.T., Dip. S. S. A.
Psychologist ...	... Miss K. H. Cama, M.A., M.Sc., Ph. D.
Playroom Supervisor	... Raman C. Patel

Location and Housing

The clinic continues to be housed in the Health Visitor's Home, New Nagpada Road, and grateful thanks are offered to the Bombay Presidency Infant Welfare Association for the use of the premises. In view of the increase in the attendance of the Clinic the accommodation is not sufficient and leads to over-crowding and it is hoped to secure some further accommodation to supplement that available at present.

*Statistical Report of Cases for the year 1940 and for the
period January 1941 to May 1942*

		1940			Jan. 1941 to May 1942		
		Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
Cases carried over from the							
Previous year (1939)	...	13	9	4	20	17	3
New Cases	...	127	97	30	148	101	47
Old Cases reopened	...	1	1	0	4	3	1
Total Case load for 1940 and from Jan. 1941 to May 1942		141	107	34	172	121	51
Cases carried forward to the next year	...	20	17	3	25	20	5
Total attendance at the Clinic for the year	...	1490			1826		
Total number of Clinic days		94			126		
Average attendance per Clinic day	...	15'85			14'77		

Type of Service Classification 1940

		Cases carried over	Cases reopened	New Cases	Total
Full Clinic Service	...	13	nil	48	61
Full Cooperative Service		nil	1	6	7
Special Service	...	nil	nil	73	73
		13	1	127	141

Type of Service Classification 1941

		Cases carried over	Cases reopened	New Cases	Total
Clinic Service	...	16	2	34	52
Cooperative Service	...	4	2	6	12
Special Service	...	nil	nil	108	108
		20	4	148	172

Sources of Referral of New Cases

Agencies :—

Social Agencies	1940	Total	1941	Total
Children's Aid Society, Umarmkhadi	18 or 14'17%		17 or 11'48%	
Chembur Certified School	...	11 or 8'66%	6 or 4'05%	

	1940	Total	1941	Total
David Sassoon Industrial School ...		57	7 or 4'72%	64
Yeravda Industrial School ...			1 or '675%	
Backward Class Office ...	1 or 0'78%		nil	
League of Mercy Home ...	1 or 0'78%		1 or 0'78%	
Parsi Panchayat ...	1 or 0'78%		24 or 16'21%	
Ratan Tata Colony ...			4 or 2'702%	
Byramji Jeejeebhoy Home ...			3 or 2'02%	
Catholic Women's Association ...			1 or 0'675%	
<i>Medical and Health Agencies</i>				
J. J. and B. J. Hospitals ...	30 or 23'62%		28 or 18'19%	
Dadar Parsi Maternity Clinic ...	16	47		30
Nagpada Infant Welfare Centre ...	1 or 0'78%		2 or 1'35%	
Private Physicians ...				
<i>Schools</i>				
Byramjee Jeejeebhoy School ...	1 or 0'78%	1		
New Era School ...			1 or '675%	1
Juvenile Court ...	29 or 22'83%	29	25 or 16'89%	25
<i>Parents and Relatives</i>				
Others ...	10 or 7'87%	10	16 or 10'81%	16
	8 or 6'29%	3	12 or 8'10%	12
	127	127	148	148

Types of Problems Referred

<i>Behaviour and Personality Disorders</i>	1941	1940
Truancy ...	15	16
Stealing ...	11	13
Lying ...	7	5
Unmanageableness ...	5	5
Mischief ...	4	4
Obstinacy ...	3	4
Gambling ...	2	nil
Shyness ...	1	„
Fits of Depression ...	1	„
Disobedience ...	1	„
No Interest in Games ...	1	„
Loss of Memory ...	1	„
Disinterestedness in Life ...	1	1
General Backwardness ...	25	23
Irrelevant Talk ...	nil	4

Suspected Psychoses	...	...	nil	3
Night Terrors	...	...	,,	2
Bullying	...	...	,,	2
Aversion to Games	...	...	1	2
Shyness and Timidity	...	...	nil	1
Inability to mix with Children	...	...	,,	1
Bouts of irritability	...	...	,,	1
Delusions of Grandeur	...	...	1	nil
Outbursts of Violence	...	...	1	,,
Perverted sex	...	...	1	,,
Excitability	...	...	nil	1

Habit Disorders

Bedwetting	...	...	16	18
Speech Defect	...	...	8	7
Masturbation	...	...	nil	3
Nail biting	...	...	,,	1

Educational Problems

Backwardness in Studies	...	...	8	13
Weak Memory	...	...	1	1
Laziness in Work	...	...	1	nil
Untidy Work	...	...	nil	1
No Interest in Studies	...	...	,,	1
Vocational Guidance	...	...	2	nil

Psycho-Somatic Disorders

Fainting Fits	...	...	6	2
Tremors	...	...	2	2
Tics	...	...	2	nil
Nervousness	...	...	2	2
Difficulty in Breathing	...	...	1	1
Inability to speak	...	...	4	nil
Jerky movements of the body	...	...	1	,,
Poor Appetite	...	...	1	1
Inability to walk	...	...	1	1
Frequency of Micturition	...	...	nil	1
Headache	...	...	,,	2
Loss of Voice	...	...	,,	2
Pain in Chest	...	...	,,	1
Pain in Abdomen	...	...	,,	1

Stiffness in Neck	...	...	nil	1
Lack of Bladder Control		...		1
Sneezing	...	...	1	nil
Pain in Foot	...	...	1	1

Evaluation of the full service treatment during 1940-1941

	1940	1941
Total number of full service cases	66	55
Total number of cases which did not attend more than twice	10	9
Total number of cases which broke off in middle of treatment	13	7
Total number of cases which received full treatment ...	<u>45</u>	<u>41</u>

Reasons for not attending Clinic

	1940	1941
Inconvenience due to distance	3	2
Parents opposed to Clinic treatment	1	2
Left Bombay	3	1
Parents too ignorant to co-operate and not interested	1	1
Mother opposed to child mixing with children of lower strata	1	0
Child thinks Clinic is for mad people	1	0
Sent to Boarding School	0	1
	<u>10</u>	<u>1</u>

Reasons for breaking off in middle of treatment

	1940	1941
Inconvenience due to distance	4	3
School could not make arrangements to send child...	1	0
Parents wanted quick cure	2	0
Left Bombay	2	0
Sent to Institution without consulting Clinic	2	1
Parents opposed to sending child as they feared neighbours talking about it	1	0
Parents too ignorant to co-operate	0	1
Died of small-pox	1	0
Mother thought that the girl played too much and mixed with boys	0	1
Parents wanted to consult some indigenous Doctor	0	1
	<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>

Of these 13 cases in 1940, 11 were partially adjusted (improved) and there was no change in 2 cases.

Of the 7 cases which broke off in 1941, 4 were partially adjusted or improved, one was not adjusted (no change), and two others could not be judged being too early.

Result of Cases which received full treatment at the Clinic

		1940	1941
Adjusted (cured or very much improved)		20 or 44·44%	12 or 29·30%
Partially adjusted (Improved)	...	15 or 33·3%	21 or 51·21%
Not adjusted (no change)	... ..	6 or 13·3%	6 or 14·63%
Too early to judge	... ..	4 or 88·9%	2 or 4·90%
		<hr/> 45 <hr/>	<hr/> 41 <hr/>

The results of cases admitted during the period January '42 to May '42 have not been included as it is too early to judge them.

Social Worker's Report.—141 Children were given clinic service during the year 1940, and 68 full service cases were handled by the Social Worker during the year. Of these 7 cases were given co-operative service with the Children's Aid Society and were therefore also supervised by the probation officers concerned.

172 children were given clinic service during the period January '41 to May 1942. 64 full service cases were handled during the period of which 12 were given co-operative service with the Children's Aid Society. In 1940, about 600 contacts were made by the Social Worker outside the Clinic with homes, schools, employers, if any, and other interested agencies or persons to collect information about the case and to carry out the treatment programme. During the period January 1941 to May 1942, 620 such contacts were made, work outside the Clinic being greatly hampered by the disturbance in the City owing to the communal riots.

During both the years, in addition to these contacts, a very large number of interviews at the Clinic were made with the parents as well as interested persons mainly for the collection of social and developmental history of the child and sometimes for treatment purposes. Parents and children called at the Clinic on non-Clinic days whenever difficulties arose. Children generally called to see the Social Worker if they had any particular difficulty to solve. Tuition in school subjects in which the child found difficulty was given to 5 children during 1940, and to 2 children in 1941 by the Social Worker apart from the remedial coaching given by the psychologist.

All cases referred to the Clinic were given initial interviews by the

Social Worker to get an idea of the case and to fix up further appointments according to the nature of the case. Home visits had also to be made in some of the consultation cases before giving advice or submitting a report to the agency which asked for it. Owing to lack of secretarial staff the Social Worker had to look after the maintenance of registers and also general supervision of the playroom. Follow-up inquiries were as far as possible done by post or by telephone. In the newly closed cases fortnightly or monthly visits were paid for nearly six months after closing the case, and then enquiries once in three months were made till the end of the year. Yearly enquiries were made after the first year.

The frequency of home visits in the current cases, depended upon the nature of each case. Some cases where parents called at the Clinic frequently and also where the Social Worker could communicate with the parents or guardian by telephone, even one or two visits a month were quite sufficient. In difficult cases in spite of such contacts with parents it was necessary to pay 10 or 12 visits a month. In certain other cases frequent visits were necessary just to interview parents who refused to call at the Clinic, or at times to make arrangements for schooling, recreation or placement of the child.

The cases referred to the Clinic came from all parts of the City and some from the suburbs also whereas occasionally children came from other parts of the Province. The scattered nature of the cases made it very difficult for the Social Worker to keep in close touch with the cases without spending considerable time in travelling to and fro. The lack of telephone communication even with schools made it necessary in some cases to pay visits at times when enquiries could have been done by telephone, thus entailing further expenditure of time. Enquiries by post could be made in cases where parents were literate enough to reply but in many cases this proved a failure.

It was found that history taking could be best done at the Clinic as the homes did not provide the proper atmosphere owing to the neighbours and friends frequently dropping in to hear what was being said. Again, in most cases the tendency was to treat the first visit of the Social Worker as a social visit by calling in friends and neighbours to meet the worker, which made it impossible to do any appreciable work in the way of collecting data, during the interview. However, to rely on parents to call at the Clinic to give the social history also proved a failure in many of the cases as history taking could not be done in a single sitting, and parents were reluctant to come to the Clinic even once in some cases. So in the majority of the cases the Social Worker had finally to collect the history in the home which generally meant delay in collecting the information and several trips to the home. Difficulty in getting the social and developmental history was generally found in cases

referred by the Children's Aid Society and other social agencies where the child had either no parents or had parents living outside Bombay. There were also some cases where parents could not give adequate details.

The Psychologist's Report.—Two types of mental tests are given at the Clinic—the Drever and Collins battery of non-linguistic Performance Tests of Intelligence and the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Tests as described in Terman's *The Measurement of Intelligence*. During the year 1941, 94 children were tested of whom 40 were found to be mentally deficient, 22 borderline, 16 normal, 8 above average and 4 superior. The remaining 4 cannot be classed under any category as there was no response due to psychotic condition or serious organic difficulty. From January 1942 to May 1942, 38 cases were tested of whom 21 were mentally deficient, 5 borderline and 12 normal.

Three children were given coaching in school subjects. One in English and Arithmetic, one in English and one in History and Geometry.

Eight cases of speech disorders were treated at the Clinic during the years 1940 and 1941, and one, though not strictly a Clinic case as she was 20 years of age, was taken on as a special case. Of these, one was a case of endocrine pathology, one of muteness since birth due to striking developmental and structural anomaly, and six of psychological disturbance. Of the six psychological cases one was a problem in sibling jealousy, the other a case of shock due to failure in examination, the third of obstinacy and aggression, the fourth of inward rebellion against parents' disapproval of swear words, and the fifth and sixth of delinquency due to maladjustment in the home.

III

BUREAU OF RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS.—A New feature of the School's work is the organization on a small scale of the Bureau of Research and Publications. It really began to take shape with the publication of our Quarterly in June 1940. Since the founding of the Tata Graduate School Work we have been feeling the need of a medium to guide the wide and keen interest in social welfare evinced in our country, and to promote research in social problems. The serious literature on social work in India is so small that it may almost be said to be non-existent. At the same time, however, individual social workers and various agencies are carrying on units of work which should be brought before the public. Records of Government work and reports of special investigating committees are far too often buried in the official archives. Young men and women leave our Universities or return after advanced training in Europe and America, fully determined to do original research, but for lack of encouragement or lack of publication facilities, their resolve fades away and they soon abandon their ideals in this direction.

It is for reasons such as these that the Indian Journal of Social Work was started with the sanction of the Trustees in June 1940 to meet the following ends:—

1. To serve as a medium of expression for the Students, Alumni and Faculty of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work.
2. To encourage original research on the part of Indian social workers.
3. To report significant advances in the social field, both in India and abroad.
4. To serve as a bond of unity for social workers scattered throughout the various parts of our country.
5. To assist in raising the standard of professional social work in India.

The first issue of the Journal was brought out in June 1940. Dr. Manshardt edited the Journal assisted by the faculty of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work in the year 1940-41. During this year our progress was slow and the Journal ran at a considerable loss. Nevertheless, our experience led us to the conviction that the Journal will soon establish itself.

In June 1941 Dr. Manshardt was obliged to leave India for good owing to family reasons. I was therefore asked to take charge of the Journal. The first thing attempted was the promotion of its circulation to make it self-supporting. In order to widen the appeal of the Quarterly, the policy of publishing articles centering round a major interest in each issue was abandoned in favour of articles on different social problems. A special office was organized with an office assistant sanctioned in the budget, methods of publicity and propaganda were adopted and the circulation promotion work was undertaken on a business-like basis from the end of July 1941. While we were keen on making it pay for itself, many told us that it would not be possible to do so as it is a high class magazine with a high rate of subscription. However, we pushed forward with full faith in the mission of our Journal, and I am glad to say that our efforts have not been in vain. The Quarterly is now more than paying for itself and its field of usefulness has been much widened.

In spite of the increased cost of production, enhanced postal rates etc. owing to the war situation, the Journal is now meeting its own expenses. Here I may mention that we have also adopted measures of national economy to save on paper and postage.

Owing to the diminished foreign transportation, it has not been possible to promote the circulation of our periodical in Great Britain, the United States of America and other foreign countries. We can cultivate this field only after the hostilities cease. Albeit, the important task is to increase the usefulness of the Journal in our own country by enlarging its domestic

circulation. At present it reaches several Indian States and most of the provinces of British India. The government departments of Education, Prisons and Jails, Industries, Public Health, Rural Reconstruction etc. of the various provinces are on our subscription list. In addition to these, a fairly representative and influential body of citizens from all over India are patronizing our Journal. In this connection it may interest the Trustees to know that, recognizing the value of this unique enterprise in social education, Baroda, the progressive State that it is, has subscribed for several copies in order to make it available for all the heads of the departments of the State. We hope that other governments would follow this notable example.

We have also given attention to building up a carefully selected exchange list, though we have not been able to secure as many foreign periodicals, as we had hoped, on exchange with our Quarterly owing to war conditions. It is here we hope to effect a saving in our foreign subscriptions later. The journals on exchange with ours at present are :—

<i>Inland</i>				<i>Annual Subscription</i>		
				Rs.	a.	p.
1.	"Young Men of India, Burma & Ceylon"	...	...	2	8	0
2.	"Labour Gazette", Bombay	...	...	12	0	0
3.	"The Journal of Indian Red Cross Society"	...	...	2	8	0
	"The Indian Junior"	...	...	0	12	0
4.	"The Indian Review", Madras	...	...	5	0	0
5.	"The Journal of the Indian Merchants Chamber"	...	...	3	8	0
6.	"The Indian Textile Journal" (Monthly)	...	...	24	0	0
7.	"The Social Service Quarterly", Bombay	...	...	3	0	0
8.	"The Tisco Review"	...	...	8	0	0
9.	"The Bulletin of the Deccan College, Post Graduate & Research Institute", Poona	...	...	12	0	0
10.	"The Journal of the University of Bombay"	...	...	12	0	0
11.	"Labour Bulletin", U. P. Government	...	...	6	0	0
12.	"The Indian Co-operative Review", Madras	...	...	6	0	0
13.	"The Indian Journal of Statistics", Calcutta	...	...	20	0	0
14.	"The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly", Bombay	...	...	4	0	0
15.	"The Visva-Bharati Quarterly", Santiniketan	...	...	8	0	0
<i>Foreign</i>						
16.	"The Family", New York, U. S. A.	...	...	6	0	0
17.	"Department of Social Science Publication, University of Toronto", Canada	...	...	9	0	0
18.	"Mental Hygiene", New York, U. S. A.	...	...	9	0	0
19.	"American Sociological Review", Maimi University	...	...	12	0	0

	<i>Foreign</i>	<i>Annual Subscription</i>		
		Rs.	a.	p.
20.	"The Journal of Adult Education", New York .	9	0	0
21.	"Sociology & Social Research", California .	9	0	0
22.	"The Social Service Review", Chicago .	12	0	0
23.	"Industrial Welfare Society", England .	9	0	0
		204	4	0

Journals, on exchange with ours, whose rates of subscription are not quoted.

24. "The Yale University Publication"
25. "The Indiana University Publication"
26. "The University of Oregon Publication"

This amount of money which we would otherwise have spent in subscribing for these is thus saved by exchange.

In order to stimulate the interest of our graduates in social problems and to enable them to have this literature for their own personal use, the Journal is supplied to them at a concession rate, which is half the usual annual subscription. In the not distant future we hope to extend this privilege to deserving social workers employed by private or public social service agencies.

The Bureau of Research and Publications has been trying, as a new feature of its work, to secure a larger reading public for the valuable and thought provoking articles appearing in our Journal. For instance, we sold 500 copies of "Fighting Social Vice in India" to the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene in India; 500 copies of "Gandhian Approach to Planned Economy" to the All India Village Industries Association; 50 copies of "Economic Aspects of the Problem of Nutrition in India" to the Nutrition Research Laboratories in Coonoor, and so on. We also make reprints of important articles and keep them on stock for sale and distribution. In this way an attempt is made to serve other agencies interested in distributing modern literature to educate public opinion on social problems. This is only a beginning and I hope we will be able to render much greater service in this direction in coming years.

The response from the public, I am glad to say, has been quite encouraging. I may quote a few extracts from press comments and the many letters of appreciation we have recently received. In reviewing what it describes as "A Notable Quarterly", *The Illustrated Weekly of India* comments as follows:—

"Each issue thoughtfully edited and well written has been a notable contribution to the literature of social services . . . Over and above all this are notes and comments on matters of current interest to social workers, and a lengthy book review section. Good value for Rs. 2/8." (28th Sept. 1941).

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU says :—

“I have been reading some of the articles in *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, and I have been much impressed with their tone and their thoroughness.” (14th Oct. 1941).

THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC HEALTH, PUNJAB, observes:—

“*The Indian Journal of Social Work* is performing an important social service in bringing to light many problems which require solution and in drawing public attention towards them as a result of original, painstaking and careful investigation.” (15th Nov. 1941).

“THE TIMES OF INDIA” says:—

“This type of literature is all too rare in India”. (22nd Sept. 1941).

MR. W. V. GRIGSON, I.C.S., Secretary to the Governor, Central Provinces and Berar, writes thus:—

“A leading article in a well known daily commenting on Mr. Phillips Talbot’s article on the Khaksar movement in the September 1941 issue of the Journal drew my attention to the valuable contribution that this Journal is making to social work in India. I have since bought all the issues up-to-date and become a subscriber. The Journal will render yeoman service if it continues to supply such instructive and authoritative surveys of Indian sociological problems, a field in which there are as yet far too few workers.” (17th Oct. 1941).

This ever-growing popularity of the Journal is due largely to the fact that it is not only a non-commercial venture but the only organ of its kind at present in India seeking to supply scientific interpretation of our social problems and modern methods of tackling them. Thus, our Bureau of Research and Publications has already made a notable contribution in bringing out this Journal. In order to expand the activity of this Bureau, we have added a properly qualified person to the Faculty as Research Assistant. This, though a small beginning, is in the right direction. The place of social research in an institution like ours cannot be over-emphasized. As part of the requirement for graduation every student is asked to carry out a project in social investigation to gain experience in research technique. A large amount of valuable material is thus made available. Every good thesis is rewritten and summarized. And then to bring the findings to the notice of the public, they are published in the Journal along with other articles.

Moreover, conditions being what they are in India today, we feel it is our duty to not only train social workers but create public opinion in favour of extension and professionalization of social work, disseminate the findings of our research and agitate for measures that will influence the healthy reorganization of our society. The dearth of literature with a modern approach to

social problems emboldens us not only to hope for our Journal a wide range of influence and usefulness but to undertake in the near future the publication of books bearing on our specialized field. It is, indeed, a matter for gratification to be able to present so satisfactory a report within so short a time on the progress of *The Indian Journal of Social Work*.

Before concluding this report, I should like to mention another matter of special interest. In May 1940, the Central Advisory Board of Education appointed the Social Service and Public Administration Committee, of which the former Director of our School was a co-opted member, to investigate the feasibility of establishing a centre in India for study in social service and public administration. The Committee recommended the establishment of a centre for social research, and suggested that the centre should have a training school for social workers closely associated with it. The Board while accepting the Committee's recommendations, decided to invite opinions from Provincial Governments and important local bodies before implementing them.

In expressing its opinion, the Committee of the Bombay Social Service League suggested that our School might be made an All-India Institution and its services in regard to the professional training of social workers be utilized by the various Provinces of India. The report stated: "However, if there is to be one school or college for all the provinces, my Committee would like to suggest that instead of starting a new school or college for this purpose, the Government of India should take full advantage of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work in Bombay by asking the Provincial Government to send students to the School with scholarships". The Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University also expressed the same opinion in his recent Convocation Address to the graduating class of the Tata School. The reply sent by our School to the inquiry was similar to the above two, for it is our considered opinion that it would be a step in the right direction as the Provinces could easily subsidize the Tata Institution by a special grant and send their students to be trained here. It is only too obvious that such centralization of administration and coordination of effort would result in an enormous amount of saving by avoiding duplication of work and unnecessary expenses. We cannot, of course, say just what action the Board will take in these uncertain times. Nevertheless, it is gratifying that our School has, within the brief period of its existence, created a place for itself in the nation's life, and has come to be recognized as a pioneer in this field.

In conclusion I should like to thank the Trustees for their keen interest in the school and its activities and the staff for their loyalty and cooperation.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION
THE TATA GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1941-1942

THE Executive Committee have great pleasure in submitting the Second Annual Report of the working of the Association. At the first annual general meeting of the Association the following office bearers were elected for the years 1941-42 :—

<i>Joint Secretaries</i>	{ Mrs. Kamala Dongre Mr. Thozhuth Kochavara
<i>Treasurer</i>	Mr. T. Edward
<i>Members from Bombay</i>	{ Mr. K. B. Golwala Mr. Wilfred Singh
<i>Members from outside Bombay</i>	{ Mr. G. N. Harshe Mr. P. S. Anantanarayanan

Committee Meetings:—Seven meetings of the Executive Committee were held during the year. At an extraordinary general meeting held in the Health Visitors' Institute on May 18, 1941, the following amendments to the Constitution of the Association were passed :—

(1) The Constitution shall be amended by one half majority of the members instead of two-thirds.

(2) The quorum of the Executive Committee shall be reduced from four to three.

(3) The vacancies arising in the Executive Committee during the year shall be filled by the Executive Committee.

(4) The Secretary of the Students' Association shall be co-opted on the Executive Committee as a non-voting member.

It may be mentioned here that the Students' Association rejected the privilege mentioned in the last Amendment.

Departure of Dr. Manshardt, our Beloved Director.—On the occasion of the departure of Dr. Manshardt for America, the following resolution was passed at the Extraordinary General Body Meeting of the Association held on 18th May, 1941 :—

Resolved that the Alumni Association wishes to place on record that it views with profound regret the decision of Dr. Manshardt to return to America. In appreciation, therefore, of all that he has done for the en-

couragement of social work in general and the Tata School in particular, the Association has decided to give Dr. and Mrs. Manshardt a 'farewell' party at which an Address will be delivered and a souvenir presented.

A Farewell Meeting was arranged on the 1st of June, 1941 in the Tata School which was presided over by Sir Sorabji Saklatvala. A Farewell Address and Souvenirs were presented to Dr. and Mrs. Manshardt. The guests were treated to a tea party after which a group photo was taken. The function was well attended by many of the Alumni and the Faculty.

Social Activities.—Afternoon Parties were given by Mr. Golwala at Shapurbaug, Mrs. Dongre at the Health Visitors' Institute and Mr. Dave in the Tata School. Mrs. Goel arranged a Dinner in the B. J. Home. A Picnic was arranged at Bassein Fort and a good number of the Alumni participated in it. The present students of the School and Faculty were invited for all these functions. These gatherings, besides being enjoyable, enabled the Alumni to meet together and talk about their various activities, professional and domestic.

Cultural Activities.—A Public Meeting was arranged in the Nagpada Neighbourhood House on Friday the 9th January 1942 when Mr. K. M. Munshi spoke on 'Akhand Hindustan'. Principal J. B. Raju of the Khalsa College presided. Mr. M. R. Jayakar agreed to address a public meeting in February 1942, but it had to be postponed owing to his absence from Bombay.

Contact with Outside Members.—We have sent out five circulars during the year to all our Alumni so as to keep them in touch with all the activities of the Association. We have already intimated the Alumni about our intention to start a news-sheet containing the various activities of the Alumni besides their professional work. But the response in this matter was very poor and so we could not fulfil our object. It is discouraging to find that several of the Alumni have not cared to intimate the Secretaries about the change in their addresses or new appointments.

Contact with the School.—The Students' Association co-operated with us very well during the year. Matches in Basket-ball, Tennis, Badminton, Carrom, Draughts and Ping pong were arranged on two evenings between the representatives of the Students' Association and the Alumni Association. Both sides displayed much enthusiasm and skill in all the games.

The Alumni were often invited by the Students' Association on occasions when outstanding persons addressed the School. Several of the Alumni attended when Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Dr. Miss Scudder of the Vellore Medical School spoke to the students.

We wanted to arrange many interesting programmes with the School, but had to give up planning for such activities because the majority of the Alumni expressed their inability to participate owing to their professional duties.

Alumni News.—New Appointments :

Mr. Om Prakash Goel	... Superintendent, B. J. Home, Bombay.
Mr. G. A. Limaye	... Probation Officer, Released Prisoners' Aid Society, Bombay.
Mr. V. P. Shikhare	... Probation Officer, District After-Care Association, Ahmednagar.
Mr. Sher Singh	... Superintendent, Sheppard After-Care Association, Bombay.
Mr. R. Velayudhan	... Research Worker, Tata Oil Mills, Ernakulam, Cochin State.

Marriages.—The Alumni have special cause for rejoicing because 1941-42 has been a record year for marriages. In all seven marriages took place during the year. We have already announced the marriages of Misses Indira and Kamala, Messrs. Ladlinath, P. R. Rao, Gurubuxani and Sahni. Mr. Sher Singh got married in his home town in December last, but it could not be announced earlier because the Secretaries got the information very late.

Finances.—The total contribution towards Dr. Manshardt's 'farewell' function was Rs. 121-12-0 out of which Rs. 120-14-6 were spent for Souvenirs, Address, Group-photo etc., leaving a balance of Rs. 0-13-6.

The accounts of the Alumni Association for the year 1941-42, therefore stand thus :—

<i>Income</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
Opening Balance on		Postage & Stationery	... 12 6 0
1-4-1941	... 29 13 6	Account Books etc.	... 1 13 0
Membership for 1941-42	... 52 0 0	Stencils	... 2 4 0
Balance from Dr. Manshardt's farewell function	... 0 13 6	Conveyance	... 1 8 0
		Annual Social	... 20 0 0
			<hr/> 37 15 0
		Balance on hand	... 44 12 0
Total Rs.	<hr/> 82 11 0	Total Rs.	<hr/> 82 11 0

Report of Social Workers' Conference.—The Third Social Workers' Conference was held in the Library of the Tata School on Sunday the 15th March 1942, at 3-30 p. m. In addition to the Alumni resident in Bombay, the Faculty members and the students of the Tata School attended the Conference which was presided over by Dr. B. H. Mehta. Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya delivered the opening Address. After giving an account of her own experience in social work, she spoke about the social evils that existed in various

countries. During her recent tour, she said, she was shocked to see that much poverty, illiteracy and ignorance existed in such a rich, independent and democratic country as the United States of America. Therefore, she came to the conclusion that all countries needed the help of social workers to fight social evils.

Mr. G. M. Mehkri then read a paper on "Social Worker and Social Revolution". He stressed that social workers should play a prominent part in any scheme of social revolution. A very interesting and lively discussion followed the paper. "Social Work in War-time" was another subject for discussion. Many persons actively participated in the discussion and several gave valuable suggestions. It may be mentioned that due to want of time, Mr. E. J. S. Ram and Mr. Laddinath Renu could not read their papers in their respective field of work. The day's proceedings ended with a pleasant social arranged by the Alumni Association.

In conclusion, we express our thanks to all the Alumni for the interest they have taken in the Association and also for their liberal contribution towards Dr. Manshardt's 'farewell' function. We are thankful to the Students' Association for their hearty co-operation. Our thanks are also due to the Faculty for encouraging and advising the Alumni in their professional and various other activities, and to the office staff especially for helping us to make mimeograph copies of our circulars.

Bombay
March 15th, 1942

Kamala Dongre
Thozhuth Kochavara
Joint Secretaries

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BOOK REVIEWS

You and Heredity. By AMRAM SHEINFELD. London : Chatto and Warders, 1939. Pp. 434.

The problem of heredity is no longer interesting to the scientist alone. It also appeals to every intelligent person who is interested in knowing something about the fundamentals of his existence. Such an eminent scientist like the American author therefore deserves the congratulations and gratitude of many all over the world for writing this simple, interesting and most instructive book. Helped by other eminent scientists, like Dr. Morton and Schweitzer, the author has written his forty-three chapters on almost every aspect of the problem of heredity with a view to instruct the layman and interest the biologist or the enthusiast in eugenics. The study of heredity, according to the author, is a new science and therefore the book is not so much valuable for its exceptional authenticity as for its pioneering efforts which suggest important approaches in some new fields of biology. Prof. J. B. S. Haldane, in his brief Introduction to the book, points out some of his differences with the author of this excellent work.

In his Preface the author says that the book is written from "the viewpoint of a layman peering into the laboratories of the scientists and reporting back to others what he has seen, heard and learned." He has therefore tried to explain the details of his laboratory findings in a very simple, direct and instructive language, of life and the materials of which life is made, the determination of the sexes, determination of physical characters of the eye, hair, skin, features, body structure etc., explanation for exceptional life phenomena like the birth of twins and for physical and mental defects and deformities, the determination of the span of human life, the explanation for special talents and genius, the meaning of personality, sexual behaviour, and the more wider problems of race and ancestry. In the end the author deals with eugenics and gives an interesting programme for tomorrow. The book is profusely illustrated with diagrams, photographs, maps and charts.

The facts presented in the book are not new, but they are presented in a much simpler manner than is done by H. G. Wells in his "Science of Life" or by J. Arthur Thomson in "Outlines of Science" or by other treatises on biology. The motive of the book is evidently to teach the general public, and this has been most skilfully done without losing any of the merits of a scientific work. Naturally, in a book of this kind much "depth" is not ex-

pected and except the personal viewpoints, there is not much outstanding scientific contribution by the author. The book is excellent for the beginner, the psychologist, the teacher and especially the enthusiast in eugenic problems.

B. H. MEHTA

The Politics of Democracy. American Parties in Action. By PENDLETON HERRING. New York : W. W. Norton & Co. Pp. 468. \$3.75.

Democracy has recently been subjected to searching and unsparing criticism but Mr. Herring takes an optimistic view of the future of American democracy. He starts in this book under review with the postulate that the most essential element in a nation's life is a popular conviction that its political order holds meaning. Particularly in a democracy men, he believes, must be bound together by traditional and practical loyalties if their government is to succeed. When these implicit fealties are strong, then parties can afford to differ and leaders to bicker; minorities and majorities can keep hammering out their painful compromises. Only an essentially stable and to some extent homogeneous society can afford the delays and debates characteristic of a democracy.

The first duty of a democracy, the author observes, is to preserve the conditions which permit its members to agree to disagree. And unlike Prof. Laski, Mr. Herring is quite confident that the American and British democracies can preserve it, while the former declares that in Britain the Labour Party and the Conservatives differ perhaps irreconcilably on fundamentals. Mr. Herring thinks that the modern party differences are hardly greater than in the past and that the present-day bonds are still indissolubly strong. He holds that no particular set of institutions is essential to democratic self-government, though some are useful. What is necessary, as Jefferson, and Lincoln, Gladstone and Lloyd George felt, is a popular community of interest deep and broad enough to drown all differences.

Having defined the basic essentials of the American system, Mr. Herring deals realistically but hopefully with the question of how it can be preserved. Today the main task of the American people is to preserve their Union against economic antagonisms. One factor of safety, the author observes, is the persistent refusal of Americans to let their parties be organized as conservatives and radicals. Such a division would, he says, align the rich against the poor, the haves against the have-nots, resulting thus in a national calamity. Fortunately, the American party system, the author points out, is one in which both Democrats and Republicans include plenty of wealthy and plenty of poor men, plenty of standpatters and plenty of malcontents. Neither party can lead a healthy existence on any other basis. One consequence of

this fact is that the function of the extreme radicals is always assigned to third-party groups. These arise in time of discontent; they inoculate the older parties with whatever part of their programme time proves to be sound, and then they wither away. The nation thus gains the best fruits of radicalism without ever suffering the shock of a sudden transfer of the government to radical control.

In the second half of his book, the author considers a number of practical problems in the operation of parties and government agencies. "Much of the strength of popular governments," says he, "lies in the matter-of-fact attitude of the average citizen. So long as our elected officials are judged by the way in which their policies touch the lives of individuals, we shall have as stable a guide as we can hope for in an uncertain world."

Among other topics considered by Dr. Herring in the second and more practical part of his book are the use of money in politics; the extraordinary vitality of the spoils system; the difficulty of setting up a bureaucracy that will be really able and democratic; the problem of getting the most important of Federal administrators to act impartially as between the farmer and consumer, workman and industrialist; and "the impact of economic inequality" on government. The author never fails to see the faults of the American system, and envisages a good many difficulties ahead. But he does not exaggerate either present defects or future problems, for he believes that the American democracy is essentially sound and hopeful. The book as a whole is both practical and shrewdly optimistic.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

Culture Change and the Underprivileged. By A. T. FISHMAN. Madras: The Christian Literature Society for India, 1941. Pp. viii, 207.

This book is a Doctor's dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School at Yale University. It is a study of Nadigas—an outcaste group—in the Cumbum Taluq, Kurnool District, South India. The author is an American missionary working among the Nadigas. He briefly describes the growth of the Christian Community among the Nadigas by conversion and the resultant changes in all aspects of life. There is a timidity in the arguments which one feels is born out of a desire to establish a thesis and yet is conscious of other forces which may not substantiate the thesis. No objective critic will ever deny the thesis that despite the weaknesses and shortcomings of Christian mission enterprises in general, much good has been done to the respective communities and groups among whom the work was carried on for a period of time. But to maintain that all the cultural changes have been due to one particular phenomenon in cultural contact is more of wishful thinking.

The book instead of giving an intensive study of the Nadigas, rambles around in various problems of Indian life and makes generalisations which are not supportable by evidences. For instance, the Temple Entry Proclamation in Travancore is interpreted as a result of a conversation between an American missionary and the Dewan of Travancore. The author says, "In 1936 when Basil Mathews called upon the Dewan on Travancore, he revealed that he was writing a book to tell the West of important social developments in India. He expressed uncertainty as to what he should write about Travancore. They discussed various topics, among them being the subject of temple entry. Shortly after this conversation, the order was issued throwing all the State temples open to the outcastes." Anyone who knows the political and religious forces behind that move will not be so naive as to claim credence for such a move on the part of the Travancore Government. In fact, many of the reformist changes in Hinduism are due to the threatening influence of Christianity rather than otherwise. The concluding chapter of the book gives some insight into the vertical mobility of converts from underprivileged groups. The growth of status-feeling among them is helping them gain dignity and solidarity. The short illustrative anecdotes given in the book are useful for further study and investigation. The author would have rendered a greater service if he had confined his work to the Nadigas alone and had given an intensive study of the cultural changes that have taken place among them.

P. M. TITUS

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FOR YOUR BOOK SHELF

Children in a World of Conflict. By ROY F. STREET, Boston : The Christopher Publishing House, 1941. 304 pp.

Deals with the problem of adjustments by Children, centering around the process of learning and the role of the School.

Criminal Youth and the Borstal System. By WILLIAM HEALY, M.D., and Benedict S. Alper. New York : The Commonwealth Fund, 1941. 251 pp.

This mental-hygiene approach to delinquency and crime gives Society a well-thought-out, practical plan for meeting the urgent need of improving our present methods of handling the youthful offender.

Escape from Freedom. By ERICH FROMM. New York and Toronto : Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1941. 305 pp.

A psychological study of the "character structure of man in our culture." The thesis is that the enjoyment of freedom has set the problem of either a flight to authoritarianism or achievement of democracy.

Women in Crime. By FLORENCE MONAHAN. New York : Ives Washburn, Inc., 1941. 306 pp.

An intimate account of observations and experiences as superintendent of reformatories for women and girls.

Introduction to Responsible Citizenship. By WILLIAM E. MOSIER. New York : Henry Holt & Co., 1941. 887 pp.

A text-book representing the introductory course on responsible citizenship given by the faculty of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.

Nation and Family. The Swedish Experiment in Democratic Family and Population Policy. By ALVA MYRDAL. New York and London : Harper & Bros., 1941. 441 pp.

A consideration of the problems of quality and quantity of population in relation to the institution of the family and to social reform.

Sinister Saviour : Two Essays on Man and the Machine. By GUSTAV E. MUELLER NORMAN. Okla : Cooperative Books, 1941. 28 pp.

Getting U. S. into War. By PORTER SARGENT. Boston : 1941. 640 pp.

An expose of the British Empire and of the people who want the Americans to go to war by a man who admits he relies on scientific method and has no "opinions".

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

Volume III

SEPTEMBER 1942

Number 2

SOCIAL SERVICES FOR FAMILY SECURITY IN A NATIONAL EMERGENCY

J. M. KUMARAPPA

To be well prepared for providing special protective services for the family in a national emergency is one of the prime needs of a country. In this article Dr. Kumarappa deals with the unpreparedness of India and describes the measures taken by Great Britain in such emergency, pointing out that the success of the British programme was due to the high quality of pre-war nationwide service, and sounding a note of warning for India that "inadequacies in our social machinery in times of peace become a serious menace to national well-being in times of emergency".

IN these perilous times not the least of the hazards we face is the threat to family life. When sudden changes take place in society, families must adjust themselves to physical disruption, to rapid transplantation, to physical and social deprivation, to divergent loyalties and to intensified emotional strain. The situation is made all the more difficult by the fact that in families there are babies, little children, adolescent youth, pregnant and nursing mothers. Our social services to care for these even in normal times are hopelessly inadequate. Thousands of children are without school facilities, millions of mothers and children without medical care or health supervision; in thousands of villages, maternity care for mothers just does not exist; no hospitals for many miles in rural areas; few are the social workers or health visitors to advise parents on the multitude of new social situations which affect the lives of children. With the increased demand for labour in war industries, women are being drawn into jobs, even women with young children who need to be cared for in their mothers' absence. Children too are being drawn into labour and are being exploited by trades which do not come under the control of factory laws.

• While it may be too much to expect that we should have had on hand at the beginning of a period of national crisis a reserve corps of workers ready

to be moved into areas of need as soon as the need arose, we should certainly have reached the position where each and every community had at least the organization, and the child health and welfare workers that we recognize as fundamental for every day needs and which would have formed the nucleus of an expanding programme to meet the emergency demands. Must we wait until this war is over to discover that the conservation of the family and child life is important to our national life? Must we wait until the most serious situations are actually upon us to develop and organize our public welfare services, and be ready at least with a mobile corps of trained professional and volunteer workers to meet more acute emergencies? These questions are asked only to place before the reader the situation with which we are faced and to consider what should be done. In this connection the best we can do is to turn to the experiences of Great Britain and other countries, and see what we can learn that would be helpful in organizing our social services to meet the needs in a national emergency.

I

Maternity and Child Care. The family, which is the source of national strength, is the one which is exposed to peculiar dangers and emotional strain in modern warfare. Hence it requires special precautions for its protection. There is much therefore for us to learn from the efficient way in which Great Britain is meeting the problem of family and child welfare. Her programme has not been developed overnight but has been in the process of growth for over two decades. It is really the well organized peacetime services which have formed the foundation of the wartime programme for the care of the family. "Steps to protect children in time of war in Great Britain," says Dr. Martha M. Eliot, "were taken by the Government and by others charged with their protection in time of peace in three periods: the long period of peacetime action since the last war (1918-38), the period from just before the Munich crisis in 1938, and the later period of action under the impact of actual war."

The point worth noting is that the basic provisions for child-health and maternity care that have been developed throughout Great Britain during the last twenty years, and those for school medical service that have been in effect during even a longer period are, without doubt, fundamental factors in the success of the emergency measures instituted for the protection of the family during the present war. It is this prewar organization which made it possible for the Ministry of Health to keep full quotas of medical and nursing personnel ready for instant service in bombed industrial cities and in the reception areas to which pregnant women and little children were to be evacuated. Though every local jurisdiction had its own child-health clinics, school

medical services including treatment clinics for minor ailments, district nursing services, health visitors, trained skilful midwives, parental clinics, hospital care and medical consultation for maternity patients, yet there were not enough of these to take care of the sudden influx into reception areas of children and expectant and nursing mothers. But this insufficiency was soon met by bringing in physicians, surgeons, nurses, midwives and social workers from the evacuated cities. The basic health programmes were so well organized in rural sections of the counties used as reception areas for London children, that it was reported in February 1941 that no mother would have to go more than 6 or 7 miles at the most to take her child to a children's clinic and that the great majority could attend such clinics within their own town and villages—an enviable state of affairs indeed, and one that the English may justly be proud of ! It must be noted again that it was the prewar child-health service which made it possible, as no emergency measure could, an effective and complete programme of health protection for children in the bombed cities and for those evacuated to the country.

Similarly, the outstanding success of the wartime maternity programme for women in London and other evacuation areas is due first to the early decision to evacuate pregnant women who desired it and to provide for their care long before war was declared. At first, arrangements for confinements had to be made in private houses but it was found unsatisfactory. Later, with the declaration of war, funds became available, and maternity homes were promptly put into functioning order. Not until London was bombed did they become popular; then suddenly demand became great, so much so, that in December '40, 75 per cent of births which normally took place in London were taking place outside the city. By February '41, ninety such homes were in operation, each staffed with a resident doctor, trained nurses and midwives, and if there were more than 40 beds a resident obstetrician as well. Besides this, thirty additional maternity homes had been equipped and were being held in reserve.

Why was this wartime maternity programme so very successful ? Simply because of the high quality of the prewar nation-wide service and of its skilful adaptation to emergency conditions. Every one realized the importance of providing the best possible pre-natal and post-natal care, for did not the health of the future generation depend upon it ? And once realized, immediate steps were taken to put the scheme into operation. Their reward is the continued decrease in maternal mortality rate in both 1939 and 1940.

Nurseries for Children. Forethought was also given to the question of child protection in time of war. Plans and steps to do so had been under consideration since the last World War but had been rushed into operation

since the actual impact of this war. In reception areas many Day Nurseries and Nursery Schools were started on modern principles of nursery education, employing properly qualified teachers to run them so that the children of women in wartime industry may be looked after while their mothers help towards victory. They were started soon after the first great evacuation in the autumn of 1939, and operated for a few hours daily. Later, they were more widely developed as an essential community service in all reception areas.

Here again we notice to what an extent voluntary organizations contribute to the provision and success of wartime social services. The Ministry of Health have issued Memorandum 249-III A, dated July 17, 1941, which describes the work of the following four principal voluntary societies engaged in organizing wartime nurseries. The National Council for Maternity and Child Welfare is active in promoting the Child Care Reserve. The National Society of Day Nurseries encourages the setting up of day and residential nurseries for children of all ages up to 5 years, and seeks to ensure a high standard in the care of children by fostering the training of young girls for such work. This society advises on staffing, equipment and the adapting of premises, gives counsel on the selection of nursery staffs, conducts examinations and issues certificates. The Nursery School Association is the recognized body concerned with nursery work. This Association has already appointed, with the approval of the Ministry of Health and the Board of Education, a number of salaried organizers with expert knowledge of nursery schools who cooperate with local authorities and the Women's Voluntary Services in ascertaining the need for nurseries and in helping in their establishment. The Women's Voluntary Services for Civil Defence cooperate with the expert bodies and through their existing contacts with local authorities help in the development of schemes and in the provision of equipment.

Since the success of wartime nurseries depends to a large extent on the efficiency of the staff, much attention is paid to their recruitment. To begin with efforts are made to select teachers, both trained and untrained, as far as possible locally. Evacuated teachers are also transferred to this work whenever possible. Further women teachers who have retired on marriage are mobilised for this work when necessary. Young girls are encouraged, on completion of their studies, to undergo training as probationers to meet the shortage in Nursery School staff. The W. V. S. helps in securing voluntary helpers; this body also keeps a central panel of teachers and other persons, both trained and untrained, who are desirous of taking up paid or voluntary nursery work. Though shortage of staff has and does hinder to some extent the expansion of wartime nurseries, nevertheless determined attempts are made to meet this situation. Here it must be noted that much of the work

done by voluntary agencies is done in cooperation with government departments, and that the present establishment of nurseries is only an expansion of the principle of nursery education well established before the war. Though real impetus was given to the development of nursery centres for evacuated children and to wartime nurseries for daytime care of young children whose mothers were at work in industries many months after the war was declared, yet the movement is receiving today strong support from the Government and its rapid development is a clear indication that the British people are keenly aware of the importance of this phase of child care for the future of the nation.

In addition to these, the British authorities decided to establish Residential Nurseries, under the auspices of private agencies, for the care of little children, because of a lack of widespread social work programme of child placement in foster homes, and the almost complete absence at the outbreak of war of trained social workers in rural areas who could select and supervise the large number of foster homes needed under the evacuation plans and also because of the impossibility of mothers leaving the cities under bombing. Standards of care in these nurseries were set by the Maternity and Child Welfare Division of the Ministry of Health. They regulated the number of children in any one group, their sleeping and play space, established medical and nursing supervision and nursery school methods, and supervised the pasteurization of milk and provisions for isolation facilities etc. In carrying out such work, the Government assumes practically all of the basic costs, though private contributions still continue to pay for many extras, such as play equipment and other items.

Though child-health services had been universally established in Great Britain, social services for children were not at first appreciated because the important contribution that could be made by such specially trained social workers in assisting the authorities in the organization of community services for evacuated mothers and children was not at first fully realized. Later, voluntary women workers who had dealt with children for a long period of time were called in to develop social service work in the reception areas. It is this organization which has come to be known as the Women's Voluntary Services for Civil Defence (W. V. S.). Its aim is to direct all such war work into channels that would most effectively aid the Government in all of its branches.

Slowly this organization began to make its influence felt and by December 31, 1940, it had a membership of 1,00,000 women workers. In February 1941, it was reported that between a million and a million and a half evacuated children and mothers were under the Government Scheme. There was, therefore, for every ten to fifteen children on the average of one volunteer worker to carry out the work for the local officials and to assist the profession-

al health workers. Without this army of voluntary women workers, the evacuation programme could never have been carried out with so outstanding a success. The functions of this notable organization include among others the preparation for the reception of children, making survey and records of local accommodation available, assigning youngsters to private households and supervising their care, setting up hotels for temporary or permanent care of children, arranging for the proper care of difficult children as well as finding and arranging with the health authorities for maternity homes, and residential nurseries for young children. Further, in co-operation with the education authorities, it sets up community feeding centres, and hand in hand with other local authorities organizes community social centres, nurseries, laundries, common sewing rooms and so forth. Undoubtedly the success of the evacuation programme is due largely to the excellent organization and work of the Women's Voluntary Services.

Proper community organization in the reception areas has been found to be most essential. Without it "the return of mothers with young children" points out Martha M. Eliot, "is practically inevitable. Without it children are underfoot in the houses of their hosts or footloose in the community. Without it delinquency among the older boys and girls increases. Without it private householders who have had bad children under their care for months or, in some cases, even for years, can be given no respite or vacations. Without it difficult children cannot be given the help they need in order to take their place in the new environment. Without it existing health services could not have been strengthened to meet the increased burden of work that comes with evacuation."

Back of the present organization of wartime social services is the long process of planning and continuous readjustment in the light of experience. After the first evacuation plan was drafted by a Parliamentary Committee in May 1938, a test evacuation was made at the time of the Munich crisis which revealed its many weaknesses and immediately the responsibility was transferred from the Home Office to the Ministry of Health. With the knowledge gained new plans were laid out by the London authorities and the Ministry of Health with the result that, when in September 1939 the first evacuation from London was ordered, it went off without a hitch, and though 1,200,000 children and mothers were moved out, not one child was lost. So efficient was the reorganization and the set-up of the reception areas.

Schooling of Evacuated Children :—Social services for the family in war-time must also care for the education of the evacuated boys and girls. At no time in world's history has there ever been so great a migration of school-going children from urban to rural areas as has taken place in the west since

the outbreak of the present war. Millions of them have been evacuated from the large cities of Germany, France and England, and sent to unfamiliar village surroundings. In this unprecedented mass evacuation the problem that has been found most difficult to handle is that of providing them adequate educational facilities and safeguarding their normal development. The demands of the war have put a very severe strain upon educational administration in Great Britain. The main problem as first envisaged was protection against air raids, and so schools near the danger zones were closed. And then some more schools had to be closed down as the buildings were needed for use as barracks or reserve hospitals for the wounded and the air-raid victims. Then the teaching staff was also disrupted as men of military age were drafted for service.

The evacuation of children from London began on Friday the 1st of September 1939, and by the following Monday, that is within three days, over 600,000 boys and girls had been removed to safer rural districts. The exigencies of transporting thousands of children at high speed resulted in splitting up most schools into several heterogeneous groups and it has not been possible to reunite them. As many as two or three fragments are sometimes found to be in one building. This disintegration involved more than material difficulties of teaching and administration. This was a misfortune as it meant the severance of those invisible ties that make the British school into a living community and mould the character of its pupils.

Such mass evacuation of British school children has meant the doubling of child population in the reception areas. Many schools are therefore working in two shifts; natives attend in the morning and visitors in the afternoon. Some schools, finding this arrangement unsatisfactory, work in two batches on alternate days. But children at home morning and evening on four days out of seven are a veritable godsend to Satan. So on off days they are provided with "recreational sessions", country walks, outdoor instruction and the like. The large city schools which were evacuated, have, however, accepted the hospitality of great country boarding schools; in such cases the pupils are billeted in the neighbourhood while the classrooms are shared. The City of London School, for instance, moved to Marlborough and St. Paul's to Wellington. Even under these trying conditions every school pupil bears his share in the war effort. Schools of every sort are digging up old corners of playgrounds for cultivating vegetables and older boys go out in parties to help on local farms. Further, in place of normal work and games, gangs of boys and masters toil with sandbags or dig trenches, and black out windows with curtains, shutters or brown paper.

The education of children who are left behind in war-ridden towns in

Britain is not wholly neglected. Teachers try to provide a modicum of education for them. All kinds of experiments have been made but among the most successful have been small classes meeting in suitable homes at short intervals with the wireless as an adjunct. There have been inevitable difficulties over equipment and books but some teachers, notably in Liverpool, have found the lessons and talks provided by the B. B. C. of great help. According to a recent report, 14 out of a group of 22 houses used for instruction are equipped with wireless. So also in the reception areas, where schools are working on the double shift system, the wireless has been found most useful for that half of the school day which cannot be spent in the classroom. For children left behind in the evacuation areas, group listening is supplemented with suitable homework to enable them to get the full benefit of the 'school in the air'. These experiments with the wireless have aroused keen interest in the furtherance of its use. Unfortunately, however, war conditions make it impossible to plan school programmes well in advance, and inform teachers of its contents.

The above is a brief account of the problem of providing facilities for education for evacuated boys and girls. Sometimes re-evacuation of evacuated school children makes matters worse. The problems of re-grouping of schools into units, rebilleting of children where necessary, finding an adequate teaching force, meeting the demands of greatly increased school going population in reception areas, keeping up their morale and sense of security, putting up light structures and equipping them to house schools are not easy under war conditions.

If Britain with its well organized school system finds it difficult to cope with this situation, what will be the fate of our school children if and when they are evacuated? We cannot over-emphasize the necessity of preparing ahead reception areas with all facilities and also having ready an adequate number of trained teachers and social workers who will at short notice be prepared to meet the intensified problems of children's schooling and their physical and mental welfare in a national crisis. It must be clearly borne in mind that *inadequacies in our social machinery in times of peace become a serious menace to national well-being in times of emergency.*

II

From all that has been said above with regard to the British social services for the family under war conditions, it is clear that there is much for us to learn from the British experience during the last few years. Our need for community organization, for child-health clinics, for maternity services, for hospital care, for social centres for adults, community feeding places,

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This Chart shows the general organization of Civil Defence in India and the chain of responsibility for its correct functioning.

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community laundries, school facilities, nursery centres for little children and the like is ever so much more than that of Britain. That we are totally unprepared to provide security for the family in case of attack or evacuation, no one can deny.

We do not overlook the fact that a few organizations have recently been brought into existence to meet emergency conditions in urban areas. The Civil Defence Committee, for instance, is for the purpose of devising measures for the protection of the lives and property of the people during any kind of disorder, internal or resulting from war operations. The Civil Defence Organization is based on the principle that measures necessary for Civil Defence are an extension of the peace-time functions of Government (whether Provincial or Central) to suit war conditions and that the responsibility for each subject of Civil Defence should be placed on that Department of Government which administers a similar subject in peacetime. Thus, the Medical Department is responsible for hospitals and the A. R. P. Casualty Organization; the Public Works Department, for the design and execution of protective works; and the Education Department for Civil Defence in educational establishments, museums, libraries, art galleries and archaeological monuments.

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has already built up a big organization in the City to work on lines that would come under the direction of the Civil Defence Committee. The People's Voluntary Brigade has a strength of 12,000 members. Among them are 1,600 trained first-aiders and 1,000 men specially trained in fire-fighting and rescue work. A Self-Protection Exhibition is held in different parts of the city and 200 specially trained instructors go about with charts demonstrating the different types of bombs used by the Japanese and various methods of dealing with them effectively. This propaganda has been done with good result in the Mill Area and it is proposed to carry it to the Municipal schools for the benefit of the 1,20,000 school children. There are 10 first-aid posts organized by the Congress and there is a plan to have an ambulance corps of at least 20 fully equipped cars. The services of 300 doctors and as many women home nurses are at the disposal of this unofficial organization. Similarly, the A. R. P. organization of the City has a strength of some 12,000 men and women, and its vehicles now total nearly 400, including ambulances, auxiliary fire service tenders and breakdown vehicles, all of them adequately equipped and manned.

But in the way of social services to provide security for the family, there is not much. As things stand, a staggering number of our women and children are without proper medical care or health supervision. Often such services do not exist in rural areas, and there may not be a doctor or hospital for many miles. In the whole of British India, there are about 6,700 hospi-

tals and dispensaries with 69,300 beds, of which 8 per cent are controlled by private organizations, the rest maintained by provincial governments, local bodies and railways. About 4,300 of these are in rural areas, and each serves on the average some 62,000 persons, many of whom live some 10 or 20 or more miles away from the hospitals or dispensary.

The Maternity and Child Welfare Movement is still in its infancy in India. Nevertheless, there are some organizations whose special function is to promote the welfare of the family. In Bombay, for instance, there is the Maternity and Child Welfare Council, the Bombay Presidency Infant Welfare Society and the Bombay Presidency Baby and Health Week Association. The Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau of the Red Cross Society, which is an unofficial organization, works in cooperation with the Public Health Departments of the provinces. Its objects are to arouse interest in family welfare, to employ female health visitors, nurses, midwives and trained dais, and to arrange for the training of women to promote maternity and infant welfare. It maintains seven schools for training female health visitors. About sixty or seventy pass out of these schools every year. As far as maternity and infant welfare centres are concerned, there are about 800 of them in India but many of them, as Sir John Megaw points out, are hardly worthy of the name. Even under normal conditions we need a net-work of well organized pre-natal and post-natal clinics in rural and urban areas, not to speak of the special need under war conditions. These figures clearly indicate how woefully inadequate are the medical facilities for the security of the family.

But this is not all. Look at our provision for public health service. In the whole of British India there are only about 146 whole-time officers holding a public health diploma. Public health is important at all times, but even more so during war when good health is essential for maximum effort towards victory. A national crisis makes unusual demands upon all the professions, including that of the public health worker whose job it is to see that the health of both civilian and armed forces alike is maintained at a high level, if morale and efficiency are to be kept up.

Public health nursing constitutes one of the three principal branches of nursing as a professional service, the other two being hospital nursing and private duty nursing. The public health nurse visits the family, gives instruction in the preservation of family health and carries on health propaganda. Her role is that of teacher, friend and social worker. Public health nursing abroad has arrived at the stage where future progress lies mainly in improving and developing the quality of service while preserving and bettering the ethics and voluntary organizations devoted to such work. In India this type of work is very badly needed.

Generally speaking, our public health service applies mainly to urban areas while rural sections which need it most are almost totally neglected. How bad the sanitary conditions in rural areas are may be seen in the report of the findings of a health survey in one of the units (Closepet) subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation in India. Twenty-five per cent of the families in this unit had an income under Rs. 5 per month. 30% had a monthly income of Rs. 15 to 20 p.m. and the rest above Rs. 20 p.m. 30% of the families had only one room, the rest more than one room. 1.5% of the houses were provided with latrines, the rest had no latrines. 70% of the houses had no windows and 25% of the houses were unfit for habitation. In 50% of the houses the cattle were kept in living quarters. In 40% of the houses, the sullage water was led into the backyard and in 50% it was led into the street. There was little provision for safe drinking water. In 30% of the houses the manure was stored in the backyard and in the rest it was sent out into the fields. Such are the conditions one finds in most of our villages and how can these serve as reception areas for evacuated population ?

Our public health needs are indeed very great in rural areas. "There are 600,000 villages in India," observes Dr. A. C. Ukil, "and, if we have to supply a qualified doctor, with public health qualifications, to a group of say 3 villages, we shall require 200,000 trained *physicians* to man the peripheral units of the rural medical relief *cum* public health organization. Besides these, we need better trained workers for the purpose of supervision or for supplying service which requires specialized knowledge and skill. Assuming that 10% of the total personnel would be engaged in supervision work, we need 20,000 supervisors. Besides these, specialized service may require another 10,000 highly skilled doctors. This means that if we are to reconstruct public health on a new basis, we should require at least 230,000 trained doctors of different categories. As a result of scientific medical training in India for the last 100 years the number of qualified practitioners is today only 42,000. If we have to go on at this rate it will take us another 150 years to get the required number. Russia was faced after the revolution with the same problem. She was therefore compelled to quickly increase the number of physicians. Between 1913 and 1933 the increase was 4 times. In 1913 the number of qualified doctors was 19,785, in 1924 it was 33,000 and it now exceeds 110,000. Medical education will have, therefore, to be thoroughly reorganized and adapted to the new requirements."¹

In the history of our own country, it has never been more imperative than now to develop a mobile and flexible public health service which would

¹ Proceedings of the Twenty-eighth Indian Science Congress : Part II : Presidential Addresses, 1941, P. 270.

be able to meet the requirements of the military and civil population. The real danger to public health in wartime is the practice of transferring medical men to military duty. Rightly therefore does the American Public Health Association sound a note of warning in its recent declaration in which it says: "Any neglect or curtailment of the essential protection of civilian health, whether at home or in the factory or any other work place, is inconsistent with maximum efficiency of the military forces. The trained civil health worker is properly considered indispensable to the maintenance of national health, and he should be encouraged to continue at his regular station in civil government unless it becomes clear that the war can be more effectively prosecuted by his transfer to military service."

Similarly, Dr. A. C. Ukil observes that the principle of employing the members of a service, liable for transfer to military duty, without any regard for technical competency and continuance of tenure, interferes with technical progress and throttles the extension of public health measures to large groups of low-income population. "While not belittling the contributions of this service in the past, there is no technical justification," says he, "for continuing the system in the development, distribution and application of scientific knowledge in a poor country like India any longer. If continued further, it will only act as clog to the wheel of progress Sheer national necessity compels us to propose drastic reductions in order to make more money available for the social services. As an example, it may be mentioned that the transfer of the I. M. S. Officers from Bengal will supply a Public Health Nurse to each *Thana* unit, totalling 575. Such a transfer will not hamper the efficiency of the administration, in the least, if the existing services and talents now available in the country are properly trained and mobilized It will thus be seen that nothing but a thorough reorganization of the services and a sound national financial planning will meet the needs of supplying the minimum requirements for a healthy living for the whole population. If India could manage to spend Rs. 20 lakhs a day now to meet the military obligations of the present war and if lakhs of rupees could be collected in the provinces for War Purposes, it would not have been impossible to mobilize the necessary finance for a national planning in peace-time had there been a desire and a policy in the administration to pursue a forward programme."²

In a country like ours where public health services are so inadequate, we should strive to make scientific knowledge and sound administrative procedures go hand in hand with lay cooperation. Therefore, one may ask: What can we do to further this cause? The enlightened citizen can help in educating his less fortunate brothers to take advantage of the protective and curative

² Ibid, p. 308-309.

facilities available and in maintaining morale in times of stress and panic as well as in relieving tensions and congestion, thus making it possible for the universal understanding, acceptance and practice of well-established procedures in health promotion, disease prevention and cure. Other ways of promoting interest are by radio, lectures, charts, newspapers, and so on. Some efforts are, no doubt, being made in this direction. Nevertheless, a good programme of work cannot be achieved in a day, but it will eventually make for stamping out dread diseases like T. B., venereal infections, small-pox, pneumonia, and typhoid, as well as in reducing maternity and child mortality. But in order to make it possible for the public to derive the utmost benefit from this programme it is absolutely necessary that the layman's effort be backed by progressive, up-to-date, and well staffed health departments in every field of Public Health, if a continuously effective campaign is to be run. Professional guidance is essential if the work is to be done correctly and systematically. And one of the chief phases of public health activities is Public Health Nursing which is a very vital need in our country.

Not much has yet been done to establish nursing services all over the country. But if we start now—because the war makes the need for well-being even greater than before—then it can go on in times of peace with, of course, some modifications. In planning for such services, we may well follow the example of the U. S. A.; that is, *first*, analyze the country's need for the education, procurement, and assignment of professional and auxiliary nursing service in relation to both military and civilian agencies relating to the national emergency; *second*, make plans for meeting these needs; and *third*, correlate the nursing services of India with those of foreign countries, so that we will not be backward in any way, and be in a position to call upon them for such guidance and help as may be necessary.

Naturally, a committee would have to be formed whose aims it would be (1) to plan and organize various types of nursing services the country is in need of such as public health nursing, private duty, nursing in disaster and in emergency medical services, nursing in first aid, and home nursing. Under these main headings would come items like maternity and child care, bedside (sick) care, instructive visits, and educational group classes; school health work, prevention and cure of all infectious and contagious diseases and so on; and (2) to staff these departments with efficient and adequate personnel we must set high standards of administration, and obtain ample funds wherewith to enable them to carry on. Last but not least of their jobs would be the stimulating and sustaining of public interest in this vital work for the welfare of India.

The Committee should be composed of professional and voluntary workers, each doing that for which he or she is best fitted. For instance, the trained

and registered nurses would attend to their special duties, while the laymen could see to the recruitment of helpers and *Volunteer Nurse's Aides*. These latter will work under the supervision of the graduate nurse, and thus get practical experience to assist in emergencies when the need is so great that all hands are wanted. It would also be the laymen's part to raise the necessary funds, and to set the public information campaign rolling. It could consist of movie shorts (news on the strides which medicine, surgery and nursing are making every day), radio talks and interviews, clever skits and circulars, stories and bulletins in popular magazines and newspapers. Other lines of work include the introduction of courses in public health, nursing, and first aid in all schools and colleges, as well as special courses in Industrial Hygiene for those wishing to do such work among factory employees.

The duties assigned to the poor over-worked public health nurse in England and America are many. For example, in times of actual bombing and attack she will be sent to a district where she will take complete charge or assist the nurses already present in giving such help as is necessary. With her would come some volunteer nurse's aides. And in evacuation areas and shelters she would soothe and stem the panic, assist in keeping down and controlling communicable disease, help in organizing and setting up hygienic measures, and isolation units, would look after physically and mentally handicapped children, and mothers and babies who need great care. It is no joke to work under such trying conditions which certainly tax one's ingenuity to the utmost, and we must congratulate those nurses abroad for coming out of the ordeal, time and again, with flying colours! Then too, it falls to the lot of the public health nurse to see that the sanitation and supply of pure water are up to standard, that proper instructions are given to the people in their charge to make the correct use of such facilities as are available, and to co-operate with the other health and defence workers in order that the programme be carried on efficiently, swiftly and smoothly, without hitch, hindrance or ragged nerves.

It is also her difficult task to overcome dislike, prejudice, and sluggishness on the part of people who think that all these new innovations are unnecessary and just so much bother. They do not realize the benefit this service is conferring upon mankind, and therefore they have to be taught to appreciate and to co-operate in making it a success. The present war, like the previous one, is stimulating greater interest in public welfare both in Great Britain and in America to maintain the high health standards of the nation. In India it is even more necessary to avail ourselves of the present war situation to improve and extend public health services both in urban and rural areas throughout the country.

If we should be faced suddenly with serious defence situations and forced to provide special protective services for children and mothers in cities or other areas of potential danger, we should certainly be confronted with a task for which we are most ill prepared. In view of the national crisis we may be obliged to face, we should organize our social services, both public and private, and have ready the blueprints of a plan for emergency action wherever it may be needed. With this in mind a small inter-departmental committee on health and welfare aspects of civilian evacuation may be appointed with instructions to study the problem and report on suitable plans of procedure. The hazards would be far greater in the case of an evacuation of any considerable number of children and mothers resulting from military action unless careful plans had been made in advance and supplementary facilities and services that would be essential to meet the needs of evacuated persons in reception areas had been provided. It would be a great folly if we fail to learn this lesson from the experience of Great Britain, namely, the need to plan ahead for the protection of mothers and children long before the crisis is actually upon us. It is a hard lesson to learn but it is one we must learn or perish.

THE FOOD SITUATION IN INDIA

W. R. AYKROYD

Food planning in wartime is one of the most urgent needs of every nation involved in the present world turmoil. In this article Dr. Aykroyd discusses food control in Great Britain and Ceylon and its implications with regard to the food situation in India.

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WAR, famine, pestilence—how often has the sequence recurred in the dismal story of mankind! In modern times the third monster is less to be feared—its claws have been clipped and its teeth drawn—though indeed some think that the formidable pandemic of influenza which afflicted the world in 1918-19 was in some way, not fully understood, a result of the war. But war still leads inevitably to famine. At the end of the last war there was widespread starvation in Europe and a little later social disintegration led to terrible famines in Russia. In the present war there is already famine in Greece, and Italy and various parts of occupied Europe are feeling the pinch. The invasion of Russia and the overrunning of the rich granary of the Ukraine may cause serious problems of food supply even after the invader has been expelled.

In comparison with many countries, India is in a fortunate position as regards her food supplies. She has not been invaded and land under cultivation is producing its usual quota of crops. In England, where previously imports amounted to no less than 70 per cent of total food supplies, the war has produced the most far-reaching changes in the national diet. This has not been the case in India. But India cannot hope to escape altogether the impact of the world war.

IMPORTS.—Food imports and exports in normal times are small in relation to total indigenous food production; that is to say, India is largely a self-sufficient country as regards her food supply. Her self-sufficiency is, however, not absolute. Within recent years Burma rice, and, to a lesser extent, rice from Indo-China and Thailand, has been imported to make good a shortage in home production. Rice imports in recent years have amounted to about 4-5 per cent of the rice supplies of India as a whole; in the Madras Presidency the percentage of imports to total supplies was higher, probably from 10 to 15 per cent.

In normal times there is a small import of expensive products, such as tinned and cold storage foods, but the use of these is confined to a small section of the population and they may be disregarded in considering the situation as

a whole. There is no great hardship in doing without imported marmalade, biscuits or breakfast cereals. One or two imported foods, e.g., dried milk powder and cod liver oil, are of importance from the standpoint of nutrition, but of no quantitative significance. Skimmed milk powder from New Zealand in normal times a relatively cheap product, has been of value in supplementing the diet of children in institutions unable to afford or obtain fresh milk. Within recent years the use of somewhat expensive dried milks (not skimmed) in the feeding of infants and young children has been growing in popularity among the sections of the community able to afford it. Such milks are convenient, reliable in quality and free from infection or contamination, while in many parts of the country fresh milk of good quality is difficult to obtain. The popularity of imported dried milks is fully understandable. There is, however, no reason why infants and children should not thrive without their use, should imports be cut off, provided mothers who have previously relied on them exercise care in the choice, preparation and modification of locally produced milk.

Cod liver oil, imported mainly from Norway before the war, is a medicine or food of great value because it is rich in vitamins A and D, and ill-health and disease due to insufficiency of these factors in the diet are very prevalent in various parts of India. Fortunately a liver oil rich in vitamins is not a monopoly of the cod; it is, indeed, a characteristic which the cod shares with most fish that swim in the sea. In India a substitute for cod liver oil has been found in shark liver oil, which is now being produced in reasonable quantities at various coastal centres and widely used in hospitals and dispensaries. There is at the moment a world shortage of fish liver oils and this new industry may prove a valuable asset to the country.

A passing reference may be made to imported vitamin preparations—i.e. pure synthetic vitamins, vitamin concentrates and tonics. Such preparations have their place in clinical medicine in India; for example, the administration of pure vitamin B₁ is the most effective form of treatment of acute beriberi in infants and adults; pure riboflavin (a member of the B₂ group of vitamins) is needed for treating certain eye and tongue conditions; vitamin A concentrates are of value in the treatment of keratomalacia. Vitamin preparations are indeed often prescribed unnecessarily, e.g., to patients who are not suffering from vitamin deficiency. They may also be taken by people who could easily obtain all the vitamins they need from a well-balanced diet. Some vitamin preparations are in short supply, or will be before the war is over. England is naturally chary of exporting vitamins at present; there is no sense in sending valuable food out of a beleaguered city. While a shortage of imported vitamins will undoubtedly make the treatment of certain deficiency

diseases less effective, it is difficult to regard it as being of major importance in relation to the food situation as a whole. To some extent use can be made of substitutes—e.g. of dried yeast instead of marmite—or limited supplies can be reserved for patients in serious need.

EXPORTS.—Food exports previous to the war were small; for example, exports of rice amounted to less than one per cent of the total crop. It follows that loss of overseas markets does not have the effect of greatly increasing food supplies within the country. Actually the quantity of grain required for export has been increased as a result of the war.¹ Wheat has been sent overseas to feed armies and civil populations. Ceylon, cut off like India from supplies of Burma rice, has to be provided with food. Previous to the war exports of rice from India to Ceylon amounted to some 88,000 tons, a very small fraction of the total production of about 29 million tons. The population of Ceylon (6 millions) is only 1.5 per cent of the population of India and great efforts are being made in Ceylon to increase food production. Nevertheless, the requirements of Ceylon will add to the rice shortage. The loss of markets for groundnuts and certain other cash crops allows land hitherto producing such crops to be turned over to food production.

INCREASED INTERNAL FOOD REQUIREMENTS.—Orr and Lubbock¹, discussing food resources in Great Britain in the first year of the war, make the following comment:

“It must be remembered in planning our food supply that there will be an increase in gross requirement for food. Men in the Fighting Forces need about 4,000 calories per day, an increase of between 25 and 30 per cent over the requirements of men in peace-time occupations. Before the War has finished, we may have between three and four million men under arms. There will also be a larger number of men engaged in the heavy industries. The food requirement of every man who was formerly unemployed will be increased by 30 per cent or more. Hence, the total national energy requirement will be increased by between 5 and 10 per cent.”

It is clear that in India any increase in the “total national energy requirement” resulting from the war will be of a much smaller order, but not altogether negligible. Some five hundred thousand refugees have entered the country from Burma and elsewhere. Armies have to be maintained and men in military service require and obtain more food than civilian industrial and agricultural workers generally. Industry is booming, and the number of industrial workers employed, particularly in heavy industries engaged in war production, has considerably increased. This inevitably means an increase in food requirements, for hard work cannot be carried out unless the worker

¹ Feeding the People in War-time, Macmillan, 1940.

receives sufficient fuel (calories) to make good his energy expenditure. If the price of food remained constant, a general rise in wage levels, such as has taken place within the last two years, would mean increased consumption of food on the part of the wage-earners concerned. It has been repeatedly found in diet surveys that low paid industrial and urban workers have a calorie intake below normal requirements. Any increase in real income will increase their consumption. At the present time, however, the increase in wages (dearness allowances, etc.) must be largely offset by the increase in the cost of food and other necessities.

MARGIN OF SAFETY.—It has been said that India is largely self-sufficient in food supply. This statement demands closer scrutiny. Even in normal times the food supply of India plus imports does not cover requirements in the sense that the population is abundantly or satisfactorily fed. The diet of large sections is deficient in quality and quantity and below generally accepted standards of adequacy. Because of the existing bare minimum level of diet, there is little "margin of safety" to allow for further restriction. Some years ago (1937) the author attempted to calculate the total food production of the Madras Presidency and compare it with food requirements. While the investigation was difficult and on the whole unsatisfactory, owing to the absence of adequate statistical data, it provided an indication of the state of affairs. It was calculated that the total food available, including imports, was just sufficient to cover total calorie requirements, reckoned on the basis of 2,500 calories per consumption unit daily, provided it was evenly distributed. The conclusion was as follows: "It seems clear that there is no appreciable excess of supply over requirements, and that the imports of rice and other foods are necessary to supplement internal production." The above conclusions as regards "lack of margin" can probably be applied to the whole of India.

One way of meeting food shortage is to "tighten the belt." The metaphor is inappropriate in India, where belts are not generally worn. It is also inappropriate in the sense indicated in the preceding paragraph. There is no surplus girth to be reduced.

TRANSPORT.—Transport difficulties are an important factor in the food situation. The railways are overburdened and owing to the great demand for rolling stock for carrying war materials there is a shortage for other purposes. Petrol for lorries is in short supply. Now it is clear that the food supply of village communities which habitually grow, prepare and consume their own food will be relatively unaffected by dislocation in transport. What proportion of the population falls into this category? The percentage living in "rural" areas is given as 89 in the 1931 census report. But the economy of rural areas may not be the simple one of direct dependence on their own produce. Food crops may

be essentially cash crops, the villager selling the grain he produces and buying for his own needs grain of different kind or quality produced in some other part of the country (or, before the Japanese war, in Burma).²

The admirable reports of the Agricultural Marketing Adviser to the Government of India on wheat and rice provide some rough indication of the proportion of the total supply of each grain, which is respectively prepared for consumption by domestic means and processed in mills. About 28 per cent of total rice supplies in British India (excluding Burma rice) is machine-milled. The remainder, except for 2 per cent handled by the professional dehussing class, is "dehussed into rice in the producer's homes by hand-pounding." In the case of wheat it appears that about 11 per cent of the crop is processed in roller mills. Of the remainder about half is ground by hand in the villages and the other half ground in power driven *chakkis* in towns and cities. The millets, of great importance as a staple food crop in India, are in all probability directly consumed by those who grow them, to a greater extent than in the case of wheat and rice. In general, the consumption of cereals processed in power-driven mills will involve more use of transport than the consumption of cereals pounded or ground in the home, or within the village.

Cities and industrial areas, areas producing cash crops, tea plantations, etc., are of course dependent on food supplies which may normally be obtained from food-producing areas a considerable distance away. Madras City, for example, is not situated in the centre of a large food-producing area and is consequently dependent for its food supply mainly on imports by rail and sea. During the last few months there has been a shortage of almost all food-stuffs in Madras, whereas in Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Tinnevely, situated in the midst of large agricultural districts, conditions have been *relatively* normal.

India has thus moved far from simple and direct dependence on *locally produced* food. A complicated marketing system for staple food crops, based on modern transport facilities, has grown up. Clearly any move to uncomplicate the system—i.e., in the direction of greater dependence on crops produced in the neighbourhood of the consumer—will help to save transport and ease the food situation, and must be regarded as an essential part of a rationally planned war-time food policy. No doubt under stress of circumstances there has been some change in this direction already.

MORE FOOD NEEDED.—At present it is difficult to estimate how serious the food shortage is, or is likely to be.³ There does not appear to be any real

² Malabar, a densely populated largely rural area, cannot produce enough rice to feed itself and has for some years past relied on local or foreign imports.

³ According to an announcement made by the Hon'ble Member for Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, on July 15th, 1942, the net deficit for 1941-42 is 2,100,000 tons of rice and 400,000 tons of wheat.

information about existing stocks—a point of essential importance. A few years ago the Laboratories studied the possibility of increasing the use of home-pounded or under-milled rice in place of machine-milled rice. One of the points for consideration was the keeping qualities of the former, which are unquestionably inferior to those of the latter. We reached the conclusion that the more rapid deterioration of home-pounded or under-milled rice was not of paramount importance, because “under ordinary circumstances, rice, with or without its husk, is not stored for more than a few months. The province lives, as it were, from hand to mouth as regards its food supply.”⁴ This refers to Madras.

In times of food shortage people invariably assume that the scarcity and high price of food are due to the villainy of middlemen, and that somewhere, stored away in secret hoards, there are abundant stocks of food. Beyond doubt there is much profiteering and some stocks are being held back in hopeful anticipation of famine prices. But we must avoid the idea that the solution of the problem is entirely a matter of price regulation, the dispersal of stocks, and so on, and that all would be well if a few profiteers were dealt with according to their deserts and the remainder intimidated by the wholesome example. Transport difficulties are important, but ways and means can be found of circumventing them to a considerable extent. Behind the problems of distribution and price there is the undeniable fact that for a number of years India has been importing rice and that this food came into the country because it was needed. Other facts about food supply and requirements have been discussed in earlier sections. It is safer to assume that there is, or will be, a genuine shortage of food, perhaps not of very formidable proportions, but still a shortage, and take the necessary steps to produce more food.

“Enough food” takes precedence over “the right kind of food”; calories over proteins and vitamins. When increase in the total supply of calories, the solid bulk of food, is the primary and most urgent consideration, attention must be given to any crop which gives a large and rapid return, irrespective of its nutritive value and the habitual preferences of the population. When there is a real food shortage, people will not spurn unfamiliar food. A few examples may be given in illustration. Tapioca is of low nutritive value because of its low protein content and in normal times the replacement of rice or other cereals by tapioca is most undesirable. The nutrition worker has no affection for this starchy root. Tapioca, however, gives a large and rapid return—an acre under tapioca will yield 24 times as many calories as an acre under rice or wheat—and it is a dry crop. In the circumstances the extension of tapioca production in suitable areas would be

⁴ The Rice Problem in India. *Ind. Med. Res. Memoir* No. 32, 1940.

justified. Maize, when consumed as the main ingredient in the diet, may lead to the disease pellagra because of some defect in its chemical composition. It is, however, a highly productive cereal and if its cultivation can be rapidly increased its qualitative defects should be overlooked. The millets—bajra, jowar, Italian millet, etc.—are usually considered inferior as foods to wheat and rice. Actually their nutritive value, in comparison with that of other cereal grains, is in general satisfactory. If they can be produced in greater quantities, they can replace equivalent quantities of wheat and rice without disadvantage from the standpoint of nutrition. In certain parts of the Northern Circars the consumption of millets in place of highly milled rice has had a good effect on health. Owing to the high price of the latter the poorest classes are eating one meal of millet daily. As a result the incidence of acute beriberi in adults and infants has fallen.

Vegetables. During the war a great and successful effort has been made in Great Britain to increase the production of vegetables. Gardens, allotments, golf links and plots of waste ground generally have been made to yield their quota. A carefully planned scheme to ensure a steady supply of vegetables from small plots throughout the year was drawn up by the Ministry of Agriculture. Gardens of about 15×20 yards in area are producing the following quantities of vegetables in the different seasons:

				Gross weight
				lbs.
Spring	...	...	...	17
Summer	...	...	...	19
Autumn	...	...	...	19
Winter	...	...	...	26

The possibility of increasing the production of vegetables in India by such means is obviously much smaller, but something could be done in this direction. Boarding schools and other institutions receiving government grants can be compelled to create vegetable gardens, or extend gardens already in existence. Institutions already producing vegetables for their own use, such as jails, can increase output by 100 per cent. Owners of suitable compounds can be encouraged or compelled to grow vegetables. No doubt there would be difficulties in supplying enough seed for a widespread and rapid extension of vegetable growing, and any increase in production immediately feasible would amount to only a tiny fraction of the additional food required. Garden vegetables are in general foods of low calorie content, and do not add very materially to the energy value of diets. They are, however, a good source of certain vitamins and of value as "health-giving" foods.

Orr and Lubbock (*loc. cit*) make the following comment about the potato, with reference to war-time food problems in Great Britain :

“The potato is of special value for health. An acre of potatoes gives twice as much food as an acre of wheat. It is the surest first crop off ploughed-up old pasture. *The potato is the best insurance crop against food shortage.* Potatoes should be subsidised for increased consumption.”

The potato is one of the staple foods of the British army. Unfortunately the areas in which it can be cultivated in South India are limited and there are likely to be very serious difficulties about fertilisers. But the sweet-potato thrives in a tropical climate. This root is of considerable value as a supplement to ill-balanced rice diets and its cultivation could be extended with advantage. The production of yams could also be increased.

The Food Production Conference which met in Delhi in April, 1942, recommended that “as an insurance against a shortage of staple foods and with a view to improving the nutrition of the people, all available lands adjoining homesteads should be used for the production of vegetables and quick-growing fruits, such as papayas, bananas and melons and green fodder crops for increased production of milk”.

More food from cereal grains. In England the use of wheat flour of 85% extraction has recently been made compulsory—i.e., the population is to be fed on brown instead of white bread. The effect of this is to increase the nutritive value of the staple food of the country, but at the same time to reduce the amount of food for livestock available and hence supplies of milk, meat and eggs. Shipping space will be saved by importing less wheat, the reduced quantity available being made to supply an amount of human food equivalent to that supplied by the previous larger imports. A given quantity of grain or grain product fed directly to human beings supplies much more energy (calories) than the same amount of grain fed through animals and returned as meat, dairy products, or eggs. The effect of the change, as has been pointed out, will be to reduce supplies of these foods, but presumably it is hoped that the improvement in the nutritive value of the staple cereal will make up for losses in other directions.

In India the position as regards wheat is quite different. The great bulk of the wheat crop is stone-ground in village homes and small mills, and consumed whole or nearly so. The production of refined wheat flour (maida) in roller mills amounts to only 4,00,000 tons, or approximately 4.5 per cent of the total wheat supply. Clearly, prohibiting the manufacture of white flour would have a negligible effect on the quantities of wheat products available for human consumption.

Rice. Some 27 per cent of the total paddy crop is machine-milled, the

remainder being prepared for consumption by hand-pounding. The total quantity of machine-milled rice produced amounts to about 7 million tons. Hand-pounding removes the germ and a proportion of the pericarp; home-pounded rice is not equivalent to husked whole rice with all the integuments of the grain intact. Taking home-pounded rice as the standard, what would be the effect if all the rice produced in India were consumed in the same state? A given weight of paddy would yield about 6 per cent more rice for consumption. If all paddy were home-pounded, or milled only to the same degree as home-pounded rice, an additional 420,000 tons of rice or thereabouts, amounting to about 1.6 per cent of total rice supplies, would become available.

It would be reasonable to encourage the use of home-pounded rice as a method of extending available food supplies. People used to consuming highly-milled rice are, however, usually very loath to change over to under-milled rice, and even if by some miracle of propaganda the change could be rapidly brought about, it would not greatly influence the situation as regards total supplies of rice. The same is true of any compulsory measure prohibiting the milling of rice beyond a certain degree.

Similar problems do not arise in the case of the *millets*, which are not subjected to milling processes which remove the most valuable parts of the grain.

MEASURES TAKEN IN CEYLON⁵.—The Government of Ceylon has recently issued a Food Production Order (Estates). Under the terms of this Order, all estates over 35 acres in area are required to place under food crops an area of land proportionate to the cultivated area of the estate. In the case of tea estates the proportion is 24 per cent if the food crop is grown interplanted with the tea; this is reduced to 12 per cent if land outside the tea-producing area, wholly planted with food crops, is utilised. A list of foodstuffs approved under the Order has been issued. This, curiously enough, does not include green vegetables, but it is likely to be amended so as to permit the cultivation of green vegetables on 25 per cent of the prescribed area.

To help in the organisation of food production work on estates, a Central Co-ordinating Committee has been set up under the Chairmanship of the Deputy Director of Agriculture. This includes the Food Production Officer (Estates) and the Directors of three Research Institutes. Its functions are "to collect as rapidly as possible information in regard to the variety of foodstuffs which can possibly be grown in different areas, the methods and the type of cultivation required and to disseminate such information to estates by the issue of frequent circulars. The Committee will likewise investigate and

⁵ The following section is based on an article by Roland V. Norris, *The Tea Quarterly*, 25, March, 1942, p. 1.

advise in regard to the storage and utilisation of the crops produced and the damage which may be caused by pests and diseases. It will also act in an advisory capacity in regard to possible amendments which may be required from time to time to the Food Production Order as experience on food production as accumulated.”

Norris points out that there will be difficulties in obtaining and distributing supplies of fertilisers. “Every effort should therefore be made to make use of all available cattle manure and waste materials which should when necessary be composted. This will apply likewise to the residues from the crops produced.”

How far the scheme will be successful, only time and experience will show. In Ceylon, unlike India, estates form a high proportion of the total area under cultivation and the introduction in India of a compulsory measure similar to the Ceylon Order would have a much smaller effect on the food situation. Again, Ceylon is threatened with a more serious food shortage than India. The Ceylon scheme is nevertheless of interest and significance to us here in India, as representing a *planned effort* to increase food supplies.

FOOD PRODUCTION AND CONTROL IN INDIA.—Increased production of food is the first consideration. How is this to be accomplished? No doubt “grow more food” propaganda has its value, though a limited one. More concrete incentives are required. Such an incentive exists in the high and rising price of food grains, which must stimulate the agriculturist to produce and sell as much food as he can. Provincial and State governments can assist by such measures as supplying more seed at cheap rates to cultivators, supplying manure or grants for its purchase, reducing irrigation charges, remitting revenue on land now brought under cultivation with food crops, and so on.

Whether it is possible to increase food production rapidly under war conditions by such means, only experience will show. The favourability or otherwise of weather conditions for the next few harvests will probably have more influence on the food situation than the achievements of “grow more food” campaigns. The amount of land suitable for cultivation not already under crops must be very small in relation to the area already under cultivation. The supply of manure will be limited by failure of imports and transport difficulties. On the other hand, some land producing nonedible cash crops for which the market has disappeared will become available. The cultivation of vegetables on “available lands adjoining homesteads” can certainly be increased.

It is anticipated (by the Hon’ble Member for Education, Health and Lands) that as a result of the food production drive an additional 9,600,000 acres will be put under food crops, giving an additional outturn of nearly

2,200,000 tons of grain, consisting of 880,000 tons of rice, 470,000 tons of wheat, 830,000 tons of millet and 50,000 tons of gram.

There appears to be some anxiety on the part of governments lest the campaign for the increased production of food should lead to a glut of certain staples, with consequent fall in prices. It has been suggested that the cultivator should be insured against such an occurrence by the fixation of *minimum* prices and a guarantee that the government will purchase surplus crops. From the commercial point of view, there may be some sense in the word "surplus" as applied to staple foods in India; there is none from the standpoint of nutrition. An increase of 20 to 30 per cent in food production would be absorbed if the entire population had enough to eat, and it must also be recalled that the population is growing rapidly.

A central organisation which is fully informed about the situation in all parts of the country is obviously necessary. The Food Production Conference recommended that "when there is a deficit of a particular commodity in the country as a whole the distribution should as far as transport facilities permit aim at an equality of sacrifice on all consumers of that commodity". This is admirable in principle, but scarcely in tune with practice. The natural tendency of Provinces and States is to grab all the food they can. The Government of India has recently set up a Central Food Advisory Council whose functions include the following :

(1) To pool, study and disseminate all available information regarding food and fodder production ; (2) to plan on an all India basis the food and fodder production programme for the different regions and tender advice in regard to its execution; and (3) to advise the authorities responsible about the equitable distribution of the available food stocks.

This body will naturally be largely dependent on data supplied by Provincial and State governments. Within each Province, a special officer with a small staff could be deputed to obtain and collate information about the situation in various areas.

With regard to the control of available food supplies, the present situation (July, 1942) is peculiarly chaotic. The fixation of maximum prices tends to be inoperative because dealers either evade the regulations or withhold stocks if they think the fixed price is too low. A "black market" readily develops. Appeals and threats are alike ineffective. It may therefore become necessary, if the situation worsens, for the government to take over the purchase, distribution and sale of certain food products, at any rate in certain areas where scarcity, distress and profiteering are rampant. In England the government either directly or through its agents has become the wholesale purchaser of food, and fixes the price at which it is sold to the retailer,

In Madras, during the recent food shortage, the Triplicane Urban Co-operative Society, assisted by the Government, played a most useful part in organising an emergency supply scheme. The situation was complicated by the evacuation, shortage of local transport, etc. The Society was able to supply the public with food at a reasonable cost when most of the retailers had left the city and those who remained were charging exorbitant prices. Twentyfive depots were opened in addition to the 33 branches of the Society previously in existence.

The Food Production Conference recommended that the present food production drive should be used as an opportunity of instructing the cultivator in ways and means securing a more balanced diet for himself and his family. It is possible that the campaign for rapidly increasing food supplies may prove of benefit to India after the war has been won. War sometimes leads to reforms and developments which may take a generation or so to effect in peace-time.

To the nutrition worker, the food situation in India is thoroughly unsatisfactory in normal times. A nation-wide "grow more food" campaign would have been appropriate in 1938, before the war started, and will be appropriate in 1945, when, let us hope, the war will be over. The majority of the population lives on a diet far remote from the most moderate standards of adequate nutrition. If India depends entirely on what she can herself produce, a very large increase in the production of various foods is necessary to raise existing standards to a satisfactory level. Some of these may be roughly indicated as follows : cereals, thirty per cent increase; pulses, one hundred per cent; milk and milk products, three or four hundred per cent; meat, fish and eggs, several hundred per cent; vegetables, particularly green leafy vegetables, one hundred per cent or thereabouts. There is plenty of scope here for the application of scientific methods to agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries. • On a broader view, there seems no reason why India should, in a well-organised world, be entirely self-dependent as regards her food supply. The mind of man, even amidst the present perplexity and confusion, is slowly groping its way towards the conception of a planned world economy in which the enormous resources which the application of science can create will be distributed according to the *needs* of each group within our species.

PLANNING WARTIME NUTRITION

A. C. UKIL

In spite of the strict rationing of food in Britain, the health of the British people is reported to be very satisfactory. This has been achieved through proper planning of nutrition. In view of the seriousness of our situation, Dr. Ukil's article on "Planning Wartime Nutrition" is reproduced from "Science & Culture" with the kind permission of the author, as it is not only timely but has many valuable suggestions as to how wartime nutrition should be planned in India to tide over a national crisis.

Dr. Ukil is member of the Bengal Nutrition Committee and Sanitary Board.

THE approach of the war to India's borders, the consequent loss of some territories wherefrom food used to be imported and the difficulties of shipping, along with the needs of the army and the evacuees, have focussed the attention of the Government, the political parties and the public on the food position and food problem in India. The seriousness of the position was discussed by the author as far back as December, 1939¹ and also at a symposium on food planning at the Indian Science Congress early in 1941.²

81% of the cultivated lands in India is employed for the production of food grains and 19% for the production of non-food or commercial crops, from the proceeds of which the peasant has to meet the cost of clothing, fuel, housing, social needs, taxes, farm equipment, medical expenses and payment of debt. During 1900-1934, while the population has increased by 21%, the area under food crops has increased by only 9%, chiefly by the almost complete conversion of pastures into tilled lands, with the result that 50% of the cattle in India today is underfed. The consequent impoverishment of cattle and other causes, which need not be dilated upon here, have led to a gradually decreasing productive capacity of the soil, so much so that, within the decade 1931-1940 the production of rice per acre has fallen by nearly 100 lbs. India's internal food supply has thus gradually fallen short of her requirements and India has gradually become a food importing country. The present war, by cutting short the imports, has aggravated the food position further.

PRINCIPLES OF WARTIME NUTRITION.—A properly constituted diet should not only contain *energy-yielding foods*, like cereals (rice, wheat, barley, jowar-bajra oats, Indian corns, etc.), fats and sugar, but also *protective foods* or foods

¹ Ukil, A. C.—Food Planning in Bengal, Food and Nutrition Exposition, Calcutta Corporation, December, 1939.

² Ukil, A. C.—Opening Address at the Symposium on "Food Planning in India", Proceedings of the 28th Indian Science Congress, January, 1941, Part IV, p. 95, *et. seq.*

which protect the body against dysfunction and disease, such as proteins³ (animal proteins,—milk and milk products, fish, eggs, meat; vegetable proteins—pulses, peas, beans, lentils and nuts), mineral salts and vitamins, which are available from green leaf vegetables, root vegetables and fruits. Infants and growing children need relatively more animal foods, particularly milk and milk products and vitamins, than adults. Expectant and nursing mothers have also their special requirements.

Studies made at the Stanford University in U.S.A. (1941) have shown that there is a close correlation between the economic status of a nation and the degree of its dependance on wheat and other starchy foods. Starchy foods constitute less than 40% of the diet of seven countries—U.S.A., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, Sweden and Switzerland—all of which are rich countries. By contrast, starchy foods supply more than 80% of the diet of India, Java, Rumania, Russia, Philippines, China, Manchukuo, Ceylon, Indo-China, Madagascar and Nigeria. By this standard Japan ranks slightly higher than other Asiatic countries, for starchy foods (mostly rice) make up only 70-80% of the Japanese diet.

The objective of war food policy should, therefore, be to supply (i) a sufficient quantity of the protective foods, and (ii) a sufficient quantity of the energy-producing foods. It has been found that food requirements of men joining the fighting services need to be increased by 25-30%. The same holds good in the case of persons engaged in the heavy industries. Apart from the requirements of food per head of the population, it will thus be seen that the total requirements of food in wartime in any country have to be increased by at least 5-10%. In planning the protein supply, the dairy cow should have priority over the more costly items, like eggs and meat.⁴ The aim should be to encourage the production of *a few* well-selected items of food required for balanced nutrition rather than allowing uncontrolled production of food at random, as is permissible in peace time. There should be a well-determined balance between the production of the food and the cash crops. A sufficient quantity of those cash crops should be grown which can have an immediate internal market now, in order to enable the peasant to purchase the other necessities of life from his cash return. If we must increase food production, it is necessary to produce only such items of food as will conserve the nutrition of the people and will at the same time be within their purchasing power. Even when the production of food is increased, the difficulties will not be solved un-

³ For adults, it is desirable that one-third of the protein requirements, and for growing children at least 50%, should come from animal sources.

⁴ Fish should not be considered as a costly food in a country so rich in rivers and so completely encircled by sea. A scientific development of fisheries may supply a cheap source of animal protein to a large percentage of the underfed population.

less arrangements are made to ensure an equitable distribution of the food. The potentialities of a co-operative system of production, storage, transport and distribution of food should be fully explored. The Government in England is spending £50 millions a year to ensure this and to keep down food prices.

The war has increased the necessity of ensuring that the diet of the whole nation should be adequate for health. Victory goes to the nation which shows a physique free from illness and possesses the greatest stamina and powers of endurance. The Hon'ble Mr. N.R. Sarker, member for Education, Health and Lands with the Central Government, has rightly pointed out that "a well-considered policy in reference to food production is an integral part of a successful War Effort." According to President Roosevelt, "Food is a weapon as much as munitions, and it will continue to be a weapon in all efforts towards ensuring a more orderly, prosperous and peaceful world."

Food production implies the production of the right type of food in adequate quantities and where this falls short of requirements, nutritionists and scientific workers should think of alternate sources of food, such as the introduction of soya bean, a rich source of protein and a crop of great commercial value, the "Ersatz" food of Germany, the use of natural or fortified foods, or the conversion of inedible food into edible food, etc. Fortified bread (*i.e.*, bread which is enriched with vitamin B₁, nicotinic acid and iron) is now on sale in Britain and America.

SOME FLAWS IN THE PRESENT "GROW MORE FOOD" CAMPAIGN.—One following the reports of the various conferences on food production and control of prices, recently held under the auspices of the Central Government and the provincial authorities, will find to one's regret that, while they are advocating the slogan "Grow more food for man and animals" on a regional self-sufficiency basis, they have not taken into consideration the physiological requirements of food for the population according to age, sex and the nature of work, and have not taken into consideration the diminishing fertility of the soil and its suitability in different parts of the country for growing substitute food crops which may fill up the gaps in nutritional deficiencies caused by the war. For example, the Central authorities have confined the consideration to four important crops, *viz.*, rice, wheat, jowar bajra and gram; Assam has thought fit to encourage the production of rice and potato—both carbohydrate foods; Bengal is encouraging the production of rice, dal (pulses), mustard oil, spices, potato and, if possible, wheat. In the re-planning of crops and the drive for increased food production during the present war, sufficient attention has not been paid to the nutritional requirements of the different sections of the human population and of cattle, nor to the requirements of irrigation and manure required for intensive cultivation, which should be particularly encouraged at

the present moment.

Unless infants and growing children are supplied with enough milk, the whole of the future generation will be physiologically crippled. If it is intended to increase the production of milk and manure, cattle should receive more and better food. Nutritional studies in India have shown that a greater proportion of "energy-yielding" foods is consumed by the population than what is needed, in the absence or at the expense of essential "protective" foods. There is not so much shortage of "energy-yielding" foods as of "protective" foods in the dietary of the Indian population today. The drive should, therefore, be more towards an increased production of the "protective" foods. Since milk, the best type of animal protein, cannot be made available for the whole population, priority of supply, out of the available production, should be given to infants and growing children. The adult population can make up for its deficiency by increasing the quantity of vegetable proteins, such as are present in pulses, peas, ground-nuts and soya beans. A striking increase in the production of milk and milk products may be difficult to ensure at the present moment, but there is no reason why the deficiency in protein and other components of diet cannot be supplemented by the incorporation of suitable substitutes. For example, it has been shown in the Philippines that a combination of 80% rice and 20% soya beans⁶, with the incorporation of such vegetables as are possible to grow in the compound of every house, make a balanced diet for the adult population. It has further been shown that milk consumption, both in adults and children, can be reduced to half by mixing equal parts of milk and steam-processed soya beans. Whole-meal wheat flour and hand-pounded coarse-grained carboiled rice have been shown to be more nourishing than polished grains. It has further been shown that if the rice water is not thrown away, the actual consumption of rice can be reduced by 25%. *Misuse and waste*, which are too common, both before and after cooking, and which account for a loss of 10% or so, should be prevented. *Cooking* should be so adjusted as to conserve the nutritive properties of food to the maximum. Overcoming ignorance and conservatism regarding food by propaganda and suitable education should be one of the planks of the Government approach to the problem of food crisis.

There is a great deal of force in the suggestion given by Mahatma Gandhi (*Harijan*, January, 25, 1942) that food taken in excess of the biological requirements is not only food actually wasted but puts an undue strain on

⁶ For more detailed information, please refer to the following papers :—

(1) Ukil, A. C.—Soya Bean as a Component of Balanced Diet, *SCIENCE AND CULTURE*, 7, 111, 1941-42.

(2) Soya Bean in Infant Feeding—from the Section of Physiological Hygiene, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, *SCIENCE AND CULTURE*, 7, 563, 1941-42.

the organs of digestion, detoxication and elimination which ultimately leads to ill-health. Another economy recommended by him is that half the quantity of grain as wheat or rice will meet the dietetic needs when not taken in sloppy form. He has advocated the use of raw salad vegetables and fruits and advises the elimination of sweet dishes altogether. Since the poor people cannot afford to have much of animal protein, he advises rich people, who are accustomed to take milk, cheese, eggs or meat, to eliminate pulses and oils from their food, so that the poor people can get a better supply of pulses and oils.

CROP PLANNING.—In the light of the principles enunciated above, always remembering that the cost or cheapness of the food is directly related to the purchasing capacity of the population, it may be possible to map out suitable areas for the cultivation of a limited number of selected food crops, in terms of the nutritional requirements of the people, to curtail the cultivation of cash crops which had a mainly export market and to encourage the production of substitute dual purpose crops (*i.e.*, suitable both for food and commercial use) like groundnuts, soya beans etc. Such seeds should be used for cultivation as will grow easily and profusely under diverse climatic conditions and which possess the nutritive qualities for the food of a particular group.

If it is found that the available cropped area is inadequate or too infertile for producing the different components of food for the population, there are two alternatives open to us : (1) to increase the production on the available acreage by 2-3 times, as has been done in other countries, by intensive cultivation and crop rotation with the help of easily manufactured manures, and thus to liberate enough land for the cultivation of food and cash crops and fodder, or (2) to increase the acreage by utilising current fallow and culturable waste lands by reclaiming them, where necessary, with the help of irrigation and drainage. Of the two methods, the former is suitable for a short-term planning and the latter for a long-term planning. In any case, a minimum but fair price should be guaranteed to the farmer, while the production should be so regulated that the population can get the optimum requirements at the minimum price.

A judicious crop planning implies the introduction of improved varieties of seeds and of improved methods of manuring; an equitable distribution of grain, fodder, money and soil-recuperating crops on the available land ; a better control of pests and diseases; the encouraging of a wider cultivation of those crops which are likely to make up the deficiencies in national diet, if necessary by offering concessions in money or remission of revenue assessment ; and finally, the introduction of suitable marketing and distributive machinery by means of co-operative seeds stores, storage and selling organisations. The middle-man should be kept away as far as possible, otherwise

disturbances in supply of food and equitable economic return to the peasant may be created. The Government should be well advised to pay adequate attention to the development of industries which are subsidiary to agriculture. In Japan, this accounts for a considerable augmentation (20%) of the income of the agricultural classes. Spinning and hand-weaving have got immense potentialities in this direction.

In times of food scarcity, adulteration is a much greater danger than in peace time. This should be controlled by suitable education of the public and the punishment of miscreants. •

Further, crop planning should be so directed that it serves the needs of the enormous starving livestock population we have in India today. Whereas in other countries, cattle manure is fully returned to the soil to enrich its fertility, in India the major part is burnt as fuel. This should be prevented by law. The enormous possibilities of using human excreta as manure have not been tapped in India, as have been successfully used in northern China and Japan. Composting and utilisation of town wastes for manurial purposes have remained practically untapped. •

A press communique, published on the 22nd April, 1942, tells us that the Government of Bengal proposes to purchase 54 million maunds of rice, dal and some other commodities, which they consider essential but which can be easily produced in the province, at a cost of Rs. 25 crores. While the cultivators are crying for better irrigation, manure and seeds, it would be an economically unsound policy to spend such a large amount for buying off the meagre excess produce from the fertility-depleted soil of the province. Such funds may better be utilised in ensuring a larger produce of planned crops, in keeping down prices and in buying such essential foods for nutrition as are not possible to produce in the province. Happily the announcement has since been repudiated by the Government in a subsequent statement.

The food shortage and the economic crisis may deepen as the war goes on. The problem is so vast and complex, requiring education, persuasion and judicious compulsion, that successful results can only be achieved if the Government and the people, irrespective of party affiliations, join hands and put their shoulders to the wheel.

The agriculturists, who form the bulk of the population (70%), are mostly illiterate and bound by old ideas of cultivation, crop planning and food habits. It should be possible to re-orientate their ideas in the present crisis with the combined aid of the State officers and leaders of the people. Where these efforts fail, a judicious restriction *cum* extension in crop planning might have to be enforced by law. Finally, rationing might have to be resorted to, but in this, we hope, the administrative authorities will keep in

mind the nutritional requirements of the different groups of population.

The present war has focussed attention on food shortage during the war, but during the transition from war to peace afterwards when we shall be required to move from war economy to peace economy, we shall have to face tasks on human relief and rehabilitation on a colossal scale. It is extremely necessary now, therefore, to mobilise a body of experts in agriculture, technology, agricultural and animal husbandry, geography, nutrition, several branches of economics and political science, transportation, marketing and price behaviour, whose job it will be to study the problems in all its details and interrelated spheres until the food and socio-economic position is stabilized.

A PLEA FOR THE MORE EXTENDED CULTIVATION OF SOYA BEANS⁶.—Experiments carried out in India have shown that soya beans contain about double the quantity and a superior quality of proteins as compared with pulses which are far inferior industrially. It grows easily and quickly on most types of soil and it enriches the soil while it grows. After steam processing and extraction of the oil, it can be turned into a perfectly edible food, both for man and cattle. The oil may be employed in making butter and lard substitutes and soap, while the expressed juice from soaked seeds can yield vegetable milk, cheese and curd. The range of byproducts is almost incredible, the chief of them being cattle food, enamels and varnishes, rubber substitutes, linoleum, rayon, printing inks, celluloid, explosives, glycerine and some parts of motor cars. Production and processing of soya bean in the United States have developed into a multi-million dollar industry according to the 1939 census of manufacturers.

It is thus not only a valuable food and forage crop but also a commercial crop of enormous possibilities, suited for both domestic consumption and export. Besides, it is one of the best soil-recuperating crops. There is no other crop which can feed, clothe and support the peasant from its production. Soya bean cultivation must be accompanied by the processing industry; otherwise the conversion of the beans into human food and the utilisation of the numerous byproducts will not be facilitated.

It may be argued that the population in India generally are not yet accustomed to the use of soya beans in food. Education and demonstration, along proper lines, regarding cultivation and methods of preparation of food may remove the difficulties to a great extent. When the potato and ground-nut crop were introduced into India doubts were expressed about the possibility of the people taking up their agriculture seriously, but experience has

⁶ For a more detailed consideration, please refer to the following paper :

Ukil, A. C.—A Plea for an Extended Cultivation of Soya Beans in India, *SCIENCE AND CULTURE*, 7, 351, 1941-42.

shown them to be false. It may not be possible to fit in the cultivation of soya beans in a short term planning during the ensuing season, but the possibilities of a long drawn-out war should be kept in mind and hence steps should be taken well ahead of further difficulties with regard to food supply. The Government should make arrangements for the distribution of soya seeds in the first instance, before the peasants learn to select the seeds themselves. The Agriculture Departmental Store in Kashmir sells the local, Itoson, and Manchurian varieties of seeds at Rs. 5/- per maund, which is cheaper than the cost of pulses in Bengal.

FOOD PLANNING IN BENGAL.—The Government of India has declared that “a food production drive is primarily the responsibility of Provincial and State Governments”. Although regional self-sufficiency and the maintenance of an equilibrium of prices should be the aim, a certain amount of inter-provincial co-operation and coordination in production and supply will be found to be of mutual advantage. Only the surplus crop of an area should be allowed to move into another area by such transport methods as are easily available locally. Hoarding foodstuffs should not be permitted except through consumers’ co-operatives under State supervision. It would be of great advantage to the peasants if the production and supply methods are organised through the help of co-operative organisations. Such methods have proved themselves to be of great use in wartime China.

Let us now look at the problem in Bengal so far as the essential requirements are concerned. It is sad to think that Bengal does not produce enough food for her population and has to depend on outside areas not only for rice, but also for wheat, salt, sugar, pulses, butter and ghee, mustard oil, spices, many vegetables, groundnuts, eggs, fish and fruits, besides being compelled to import a large amount of tinned foods and dried fruits from foreign countries. The province has to import Rs. 30 crores of food materials every year. Some of these supplies have been dislocated, others may be jeopardized at any moment in course of this war.

The population of Bengal, according to the 1941 census, exceeds 60 millions, which marks an increase of 20% over the 1931 census. Of this number, approximately 5 millions belong to the age group 0-3 years, 3½ millions to the age group 3-5 years and 13 millions to the age group 5-15 years; the remaining two-thirds of the population constitute the adult population. The number of expectant and nursing mothers would be about 3½ millions. It has already been pointed out that the latter section of the population and the infants and growing children require special nourishment for their health and growth.

Out of 30 million acres of net cropped area in Bengal, 19½ million acres are devoted to the cultivation of paddy. Bengal accounts for 29% of the all

India production in rice. Only 7% of the cropped area is irrigated and only 6 million acres are double-cropped. 12½ millions acres of land are lying waste as current fallow and culturable waste. 14% of the total area in the province is under forests. Bengal has a vast water surface which is lying untapped so far as fish supply is concerned.

It has been shown that agriculture cannot support more than 250 persons to the square mile, and Bengal has an average density of 650 persons to the square mile. There is thus not only a shortage of cultivating and cultivable land but the actual production falls far short of the requirements of the population. Among agricultural families, 22% live on agricultural wages, 12% live as *bargadars* or sharecroppers, landless labourers number about 30 lakhs, while non-working dependants number 4 millions. It is estimated that only 20% of the people are well nourished. An average adult belonging to Bengal requires for his daily diet 12 ounces of rice, 3 ounces of other cereals, 4 ounces of milk, 2 ounces of pulses, 4 ounces of non-leafy vegetables, 4 ounces of fresh leafy vegetables, 2 ounces of fats and oils and 2 ounces of fruits (including tomatoes), and if he can afford, a couple of ounces of fish and/or meat.

Let us now think in terms of some of the main nutritional requirements of the population.

MAIN NUTRITIONAL REQUIREMENTS.—Milk.—With regard to the total milk production in an area, priority of supply should be given to infants and children up to 15 years of age and to expectant and nursing mothers. It will be doing a great good to them if a sufficient quantity of shark liver oil, which can be cheaply produced in this province, is supplied to them. Calculating the daily requirements of milk to be 1½ seer per head up to 3 years of age and ¾ seer per head up to 15 years, 60% of the milk produced in Bengal will have to be reserved for these groups, before the remainder is released for consumption among adults. 52,000 maunds of milk are used daily in the production of coagulated milk or *chhana*, which is chiefly employed in the manufacture of sweets, which are consumed by the richer sections of the adult population. The whole amount of the whey containing valuable nutritive materials is thrown away, which is a grave waste in the face of severe shortage of milk in the province. The production of *chhana* may be stopped, by law, during the war. This, of course, refers to our immediate requirements on a short-term basis. It is a much better plan to pay more attention to the dairy cow in the larger interests of nutrition and agriculture.

Rice.—Deducting 550,000 tons for seed requirements, the shortage of food with regard to rice is estimated to be 2,000,000 tons. Until the occupation of Lower Burma, 1½ million tons of rice used to be imported annually into Bengal. We should encourage the cultivation of soya beans, so that the people

may be induced to mix 20% of soya beans with rice. This will not only provide a much better or balanced nutrition to the people but will also entirely redeem the shortage of rice caused by the stoppage of exports from Burma. Fine milling of rice may be prevented by law. Proper educative propaganda should be made to ask people to take parboiled rice and not throw away the water in which rice is boiled.

Wheat.—On an average, 300,000 tons of wheat are consumed every year in Bengal, as against 74,000 tons produced (= a shortage of 226,000 tons).

Pulses and beans.—Approximately 1,53,570 tons of these vegetable proteins are imported annually into Bengal. As regards mustard oil, the province produces only one-tenth of her requirements. A certain amount of maize (= 6½ million maunds) is consumed, mostly by poor people residing in the hills. A certain amount of pulses and oil cakes has to be reserved as protein food for cattle. Taking various factors into consideration, we suggest that the 2,000,000 acres of land released by the restriction of jute cultivation in the current year be employed as follows : 1,000,000 acres for the cultivation of soya beans, 500,000 acres for the cultivation of two varieties of pulses which grow easily and are cheap in price (*e. g.*, Bengal gram and *mati-kalai*), 250,000 acres each for the cultivation of mustard and groundnuts.

Sugarcane and Potato: Vegetables.—In the dietary of a starch-consuming population, sugarcane and potato do not hold an important place. Hence, their cultivation may be considerably restricted. The consumption of *gur* may be encouraged, if necessary, in preference to vitamin-free sugar. If necessary, the consumption may be restricted by rationing and stoppage of imports. 250,000 acres can easily be spared out of the restriction of cultivation of these crops. Half of this area can be devoted to the cultivation of wheat and half to vegetables, especially green leafy vegetables, tomatoes and the other usual vegetables which grow easily in the country during different seasons of the year.

A large consumption of vegetables supplies valuable minerals and vitamins A and C in wartime but its need is not sufficiently realised by a large majority of people. It has been shown that a consumption of 30% more vegetables can make good the deficiency of fruits. It has been shown in England that vegetables grown on 300 square yards of land can supply the nutritional requirements, expected from vegetables, for a family of five. Such vegetables should be encouraged which are easy to grow, have a sturdy crop and possess a good storing quality. If it is found at any time that the supply of vitamins from natural sources proves inadequate for the needs of the population, synthetic vitamins may be manufactured and supplied to them.

Fruits.—It is not possible to grow fruits at short notice, but the existing fruit production may be preserved by drying and canning, where possible.

Wastage, which is far too common, should be discouraged. Among the cheap and easily available fruits, *amla* or *amlaki* is a rich source of vitamin C.

In estimating the acreages and the production, consideration has been given in the preceding pages to *the question of intensive cultivation and crop rotation*. If this is done, Bengal can not only obtain self-sufficiency as regards her food requirements, but may probably have a surplus. One serious defect which is not easy to overcome is with regard to the production of milk. The daily per capita consumption of milk in Bengal is 6 ounces, as compared to 40 ounces in Great Britain and 45 ounces in Australia. The annual production of milk per head of cattle in India is 30 gallons, as compared to 387 gallons in Denmark and 380 gallons in Switzerland. It is estimated that the number of animals per acre of grazing in Bengal is from 30 to 69, while the proper number should not exceed two or at most three. Such ill-nourished cattle of inferior breeds, instead of supporting the peasant, have proved a drag on him. Since most of the pasture land in the province has been misappropriated by man to satisfy his hunger, the State should investigate whether the cultivation of fodder crops on spare forest land can meet the situation, in addition to a more extensive use of leguminous forage and oil cakes which will be available as a result of the drive suggested above. Further extension of tea cultivation should be restricted, if possible, and any available land in the tea gardens should be utilised for growing cash crops and soya beans.

With her extensive sea face, Bengal ought to be self-sufficient with regard to salt, an essential commodity. Although Rs. 40 lakhs worth of spices are imported into Bengal every year, we have refrained from giving it a special consideration, as we think their use should be considerably restricted and, if necessary, one should be able to do without them in wartime.

It will be seen that we have omitted the consideration of the more costly foods like meat and eggs. Provided adequate milk supply is assured, their use need not be encouraged among the low-income sections of the population. Bengal can, however, afford to be generous with regard to fish, if only the Government takes up the question seriously.

Finally, an appeal must be broadcast to the public to be thrifty, to have a smaller choice of the essential food ingredients needed for balanced nutrition, to modify cooking in such a way that less fuel and less time is needed for cooking, and not to waste any food that can possibly be conserved. One should not grumble at these temporary restrictions but rather boldly face the situation we are now confronted with. We should remember that, in spite of a considerable rationing in wartime Britain, the nutrition and health of the people over there are as satisfactory as can be conceived, for there science has been brought to the service of man in tiding over an emergency.

THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES AND EVACUEES

B. H. MEHTA

In a world disorganised by war, the care of Refugees and Evacuees becomes a vital function of every civilized society. Pointing out the dangers Burma had to face owing to her unpreparedness, Dr. Mehta shows in this article how the problem of providing them food, shelter and employment can be dealt with effectively and offers valuable suggestions for well-organised schemes for their protection and rehabilitation.

IN a war-torn world filled with suffering humanity, the people whose lands and homes are conquered by the invaders easily obtain the sympathy of their fellowmen. The presence of mere sympathy, however, is little comfort to those who with their children and few belongings are compelled to leave their hearths and homes and their source of livelihood to search for shelter, and new lands where they may again begin their struggle for existence. They require genuine aid at every step which may help them to endure hardships, maintain their stamina, and enable them to adapt and adjust themselves to new conditions and ways of living.

It is not only necessary to prepare ourselves to receive people from outside our country who are the victims of the wrath of conquering armies, though laws of hospitality and mutual aid demand that we do everything in our power to assist them, but prepare ourselves, in a large country like India, to evacuate persons and help refugees from a point of invasion to a place of relative shelter within the country. This movement and transference of population may take place especially from the major cities of commercial and industrial importance to rural areas which are not likely to face the experience of real battle.

The aim of Help to Evacuees and Refugees Movement should be to take adequate and systematic measures for the speedy, organised and comfortable removal of population from one place to another with a view to afford them immediate relief or reasonable means and opportunities to settle down and adapt themselves to new conditions. The problems and treatment of evacuees coming from distant conquered countries will be naturally somewhat different from the treatment of Home evacuees. Foreign refugees always live in the hope of returning to their original theatre of livelihood and therefore would like to make only temporary adjustments, but care should be taken that undue optimism may not lead to a failure of speedy adjustment to new circumstances. The chances of returning to their homes and working in more settled times

are always greater in the case of Home evacuees.

In the treatment of this problem, the question of the Agency to be entrusted with relief work is of considerable importance. This question must be answered first in terms of official *vs.* non-official, and central *vs.* decentralised agencies. It is possible to answer immediately that there should be an official and central agency to deal with such a vast problem. At least this will be the solution in any independent country. If a compromise at all becomes necessary, it is only because of distrust and suspicion, and a sense of narrow and selfish sectarianism which may exist in certain quarters. It is imperative that the government should create a special official and non-political agency with civil co-operation apart from the existing A.R.P. and other bodies to deal effectively with evacuation, and all other bodies organised for the same aim should co-ordinate their efforts and assist the central organisation. The functions and duties of this central authority should be :—

- (1) To educate public opinion in all aspects of the problem.
- (2) To obtain information and statistical data in important areas with regard to evacuation.
- (3) To plan methodical evacuation in times of danger.
- (4) To make arrangements for transport, and the provision of food and shelter during evacuation, and to create medical aid centres and police posts along the routes selected for evacuation.
- (5) To organise officers for the registration of evacuees who have no predetermined destination as soon as they arrive at their new destinations.
- (6) To organise relief and systematic aid to evacuees in terms of housing aid, provision of maintenance and wherewithals of existence, employment, care of health, education of children, and such other aid as may become necessary for the later restoration and reinstatement of families in their original domicile.

It is usually understood that the problem of evacuees appears only when families have reached their destination after leaving a war affected area. The solution of the problem becomes comparatively easier if evacuation is organised by the State. In such a case a preliminary inquiry by a special department of the police or the municipality should precede any war emergency, and residents in different localities should keep the Evacuation Department informed of the arrangements made by families for evacuating their members in times of emergency. Absence of such measures has created considerable panic and disorganisation even in Western countries where the standard of intelligence of the masses is considerably higher than in a country like India. In India unorganised evacuation will almost certainly create panic and disorder, causing dislocation of traffic, and will probably interfere with the movement of troops. A volun-

tary organisation of the educated sections to help illiterate evacuees will be very helpful, if these volunteers themselves have fixed their destinations and agree only to lead groups of other evacuees who intend to proceed to the same destination. Evacuation under even a comparatively efficient leadership will prove far more advantageous than unorganised evacuation of large numbers by road, rail and other means of transport. If evacuation is to be organised, then a preliminary registration of intending evacuees, together with a general investigation of relevant data, will prove necessary and useful.

Transport plays the most important part during any large scale evacuation of population from threatened cities. The road, the railway and the steamship are especially most utilised by evacuees and refugees, and therefore proper organisation is needed to bring about speedy and effective evacuation. The chief points that need attention in this respect are : (1) the adequacy of transport facilities; (2) the maximum utility of every available means of transport; (3) the proper distribution of transport facilities; (4) the framing of rules and regulations for the conduct of private means of transport; (5) the protection of life and property during evacuation; (6) the allotment of definite roads for the use of evacuees and (7) provision of food supply, shelter and bathing and sanitary arrangements during the journey.

In most cases, the Transport Department of the government, working in co-operation with the Police, is able to make efficient arrangements for the provision, distribution and commandeering of all available transport facilities including railway engines, wagons, steamers, launches, boats, motor buses and motor cars. Extensive use was made of the bullock cart during the evacuation of Indians from Burma; the regulation and control of this means of transport in the city as well as in the village should not be neglected. Slow moving traffic is bound to cause maximum difficulties and therefore attention should be paid to the allotment of separate roads, wherever possible, and to the provision of sidings. The police regulation and control of the use of private cars and bicycles should also be based on sound principles which ought to be conveyed and explained to the public. In India there is a tendency on the part of government to remain too secretive and mysterious with regard to such measures. A certain and reasonable amount of secrecy, wherever necessary, can be permitted and understood in wartime; but in order to secure public confidence, the association of non-official public opinion through committees becomes necessary.

Protection of life and property is at all times the function of the Police, but in times of crisis semi-official and voluntary agencies will be called upon to assist the general public in every manner. It is on the civility, efficiency and nature of the organisation of these bodies and the amount of public con-

fidence enjoyed by them that the real welfare of all evacuees and refugees will depend. Whilst government should do all in its power to maintain efficient, well managed and well supplied centres along important routes to look after the feeding and health of evacuees and refugees, social groups in every city, town and village ought to realize the fundamental importance of the principle of Mutual Aid during such times, and undertake the organisation of canteens, bathing centres and rest centres for the benefit of their fellowmen.

Registration of Evacuees.—Registration of evacuees and refugees, once they reach a place of shelter, should be compulsory and should be entrusted to the Police Department working in co-operation with voluntary organisations which function with similar aims. The registration should be thorough and complete and should contain detailed information of the members of the family evacuated and left behind, of property and other articles brought with them, the previous occupation of members, and conditions of health and education. This should apply even to those who do not require public assistance and who find shelter with friends and relatives. Once an evacuee family is registered, then its members should have identification cards which will enable them to obtain assistance from public servants and institutions, and at the same time prevent the abuse of their position in an unscrupulous manner.

Once the critical stage of the transport of population is over, the more important and extensive task, though less difficult than that of helping the evacuees to settle down temporarily, or if necessary even permanently, of providing for new adjustments of life will begin. The evacuation of Indians from Burma and the Far East has taught us invaluable lessons to guide us in the future. The initial chaos and the later want of policy and co-ordination and systematisation of efforts point out the consequences of unpreparedness. Such difficult problems cannot possibly be handled by mere government officials and departments, even if they secure the confidence of the people. Here is a need of trained men, specialised in specific branches of human welfare like housing, medical relief, unemployment, charity organisation and education. Each department has to determine its own policy, measure its resources, and organise its effort, guided by some central co-ordinating State or official-cum-non-official agency. The central agency should have its branches spread over important cities and towns under the management of paid officials. These branches should serve the purpose of an Information Bureau, Registration Office and Employment Bureau.

Housing and Settling the Evacuees.—The treatment of this problem will depend upon the nature of dislocation of human life and the period in which a readjustment can be made. Temporary facilities can be provided in Evacuee Camps organised in schools, dharmasalas and public buildings. More

permanent arrangements can be made by commandeering all available housing space, and if necessary billeting families upon the local population on a voluntary or paid basis. If some permanent arrangement becomes necessary then colonisation schemes can be planned, and the working population can be settled on non-cultivated lands. Before any definite plan is undertaken, each branch office should carry out a special registration of applicants for housing aid, obtaining from them primary data regarding their housing habits, needs, standard of life, possibility of payment of rent, the period for which assistance is required, etc. This registration should be carried out speedily and housing plans should be based on the study of the local housing situation and the nature of information obtained from data collected during registration. A special supply department should look after the provision of building materials for huts, if it becomes necessary to build them.

It is a delicate problem to deal with the maintenance of families during even a transition period. The employment problem should necessarily be dealt with first, and wherever necessary doles and subsidies may be given. The Employment Bureau should carry out a detailed registration of the unemployed, and the canvassing section should take positive measures for finding jobs. In the first instance there will be a classification of the unemployed, at least under the three main headings of skilled and unskilled labour, and professional workers. Each of the three classes have to be further sub-divided according to the specific occupations to which the worker belongs, and also according to the capacity to work in terms of hard, medium and light work. Arrangements will also have to be made for the employment of women and the provision of vocational guidance to young unemployed persons. In India Employment Bureaus are rarely found to take scientific measures for canvassing jobs and exploring avenues of work. This involves a study of demand for workers in specific areas, the analysis and classification of advertisements, and direct and personal approach to employees. Over and above engaging the unemployed in existing avenues of work, the Municipality and the State must take positive measures and create new schemes to employ evacuees and refugees, in case they are found in large numbers in any place. Public work schemes and the organisation of small handicraft industries will help to create scope for employment.

The most important form of relief, and the most difficult from the point of view of administration, is the provision of doles, subsidies or maintenance allowance to those who are unable to provide for themselves during emergencies. The administration of this kind of relief will be done by the regional offices, and all public and private relief, as far as possible, should be administered through the central agency. Principles, policies and methods of admini-

nistration ought to be decided beforehand and should be subject to decisions of a central authority. That there is a woeful lack of a clear and consistent policy in India is evident in the treatment of evacuees from Burma. To illustrate, the following three statements, with reference to relief for evacuees, which appeared in the press may be quoted :—

1. "The Hon. Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member, Government of India, has written a letter to Khan Abdul Qaiyum, M.L.A. (Central), over the question of Burma evacuees in the Frontier Province and has informed him that every male evacuee is entitled to get Rs. 20 monthly as subsistence allowance till he is employed and can earn his own livelihood, a woman Rs. 15 and a child Rs. 6. Mr. Aney has requested Khan Abdul Qaiyum to advise those evacuees in the frontier who are still without employment that they can apply to the authorities for the minimum allowance mentioned above. It is learned that a number of evacuees from the war zones are addressing applications to the War Resources Committee for employment. It is officially explained that the War Resources Committee have not assumed the responsibility for finding employment for evacuees, and that those desirous of obtaining employment should apply to the registration offices opened for evacuees by the Governments concerned."

2. "Owing to a generous donation from His Excellency the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund, the Department of Indians Overseas now has a special fund for affording assistance to organisations and associations working for the relief of Indian refugees from war zones. Non-official organisations and associations in the Province of Bombay carrying on this work who desire assistance from this Fund should submit applications for grants to the Government of Bombay together with a statement of probable requirements. It will be necessary for the organisations in receipt of assistance to submit monthly accounts of expenditure against the grant for the information of the Trustees of His Excellency the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund."

3. "There still seems to be some misunderstanding regarding allowances payable to indigent refugees in India and to dependents of those Indians stranded in enemy occupied territories. All such allowances are granted only against undertakings to repay. It is for Provincial authorities to determine what allowance is suitable in individual cases; for the grant of allowance applications should be made to district authorities. The Government of India have assumed financial responsibility in respect of Indians and Anglo-Indians. Debits will be raised against other Governments for others who receive financial help. The Government of India have prescribed certain maxims for the guidance of Provincial authorities according to a sliding scale which allocates a relief remittance proportionate to the individual's normal earnings,

plus concessions for dependents. This clearly is the only equitable method of computation.’’

The above three statements disclose a situation full of confusion and want of co-ordination of efforts. The provision of loans without any security and without any definite obligation to pay may prove helpful, but will not fulfil the primary object of giving a psychological sense of security to persons whose lives are disorganised and who find themselves helpless and stranded in the midst of strange and unknown environments. Moreover whilst the government is willing to give relief on a loan basis, it is willing to encourage non-official agencies which are not likely to give loans, but give assistance which will not be repaid.

The third statement, which does not come from an official source, attempts to explain a government policy. Whilst it can be accepted that a uniform standard of help cannot be possible under all circumstances, it is very evident from the manner in which relief is given at present in India that there is a good deal of justification for criticism of racial and class discrimination in which Indians, and especially very poor Indians belonging to the working classes who have come back to their homeland in thousands, hardly receive any help at all. At times, being illiterate, they are even unaware of there being any possibility of obtaining relief through Government agencies.

It should be evident to any one that a mere worker who during employment does not earn even a minimum wage, cannot be expected to repay a loan even after employment, especially in these days of exceptionally high costs of living. The policy of giving a loan to persons who are victims of almost a complete uprooting of their lives is not likely to meet with public or scientific approval, and besides let us hope that such policy will be followed universally in India in relation to Indians of every class, and also in relation to the Anglo-Chinese and Anglo-Burmans; otherwise it will be difficult for the government to escape the charge of racial discrimination.

Standards of Payment.—Several basic principles ought to guide the determination of the basis of relief. The important fundamental considerations are equity and evaluation of need in terms of standard of life and cost of living. The consideration of standard of life should not receive any undue consideration and the scale of payment should not be too low for the poor and unduly high for the better classes. In determining the amount of relief, the capacity for employment and the possible value of cash already in the possession of the evacuee should be taken into account. It does not appear that the present arrangement in India has satisfied any one and the discriminatory treatment given to the Anglo-Chinese, the Anglo-Burmans and the Poles as against the very poor relief given to Indians has met with just criticism on all sides.

The amount of relief should include cost of food and clothing, rent, travelling expenses, expenses for education and medical relief and reasonable recreative amenities. Any relief given to the evacuees should be accompanied by intensive economic survey and Family Case Work for the family concerned. This will maintain direct and personal contact between the family and the relief agency. Thus up-to-date information will be always available regarding changing conditions which will permit the determination for the need of relief at least once in every three months. Family case work and the administration of urgent relief as soon as it is needed will prevent any possible demoralisation of the family.

There are three other directions of help still to be considered. They are education, medical relief and the giving of general assistance whenever required. When families do not get definitely settled in one place, the education of children is bound to suffer. It will be specially difficult to obtain higher and vocational education. A partial solution is the creation of colleges and other important institutions in rural areas and the organisation of residential Universities. Even high schools in cities can be helped by the State to distribute themselves in the country with an addition of residential quarters. The staff of primary schools can be increased by giving employment to evacuee teachers, and more temporary buildings can be quickly built to house the classrooms.

A special medical service or branches of the Red Cross ought to be organised, with adequate staff and travelling dispensaries, to cope with medical relief. Existing services should be more extensive and efficient, and the State should obtain the assistance of all medical men and women on a paid or a non-voluntary basis.

The magnitude of the refugee and evacuee problem will depend upon the size of areas and the quantity and quality of the population affected. The problem will demand the immediate provision of relief during war-time, but it will take more gigantic proportions after the war is over. Then repatriation will be attended to wherever possible, otherwise families will have to be helped to adjust and adapt themselves to new regions, conditions of living and standards of life. The entire social structure will be affected. Regrouping of human beings will take place. Probably there will be extreme inter-marriage. Even religious beliefs and forms of worship will undergo changes. Moulding and diverting these vital changes into channels which will help evolve a saner, healthier, happier society is no mean task, for the vast social and economic adjustments need clear and sympathetic understanding of human problems. Such constructive measures will have to be initiated by master-minds engaged in the planning of a national reconstruction for a new and better world.

BUILDING UP CIVILIAN MORALE

KATAYUN H. CAMA

In modern total warfare when the classic distinction between fighters and non-fighters has been obliterated and when psychological strategy is as significant as military tactics civilian morale forms the strongest bulwark of a nation. In this article Dr. Cama discusses various aspects of this problem and offers constructive suggestions for building up civilian morale.

MORALE is a wily word with more than sufficient fringes of meaning to justify an intensive exploration into its inner workings. Attempts at definition range all the way from a word, phrase, sentence or paragraph to lengthy philosophic dissertations covering entire volumes. Orace Wookey thought of it as "a dirty French word", and many a layman has followed in his wake regarding it suspiciously as nothing more than the alternative to prostitution. The more simple minded define it as "confidence", "team spirit", "will to win", "will to live" and "determination which can be translated into resilient action". Probably the coloured soldier who said "morale is what makes your laigs do what your haid knows ain't possible," came nearer to defining it than most of our learned professors and 'varsity dons. It is not at all surprising that Philip Broughton of the Federal Security Agency of Washington, D. C., envisaging the dangers of defining this subtle term, remarked, "Like Caesar's wife in Mrs. Malaprop's interpretation, it is all things to all men." Nevertheless, the moment we try to probe into the various aspects of morale such as the psychiatric, social, economic, psychological, biological and political, the superficial fringes of meaning wear off and the deeper meaning with its inner intricacies and potentialities emerges.

Professor Allport¹ reasons that morale "is a condition of physical and emotional well-being residing in the individual citizen; that this condition makes it possible for him to work and live hopefully and effectively for goals that he shares with other individuals in his group; that having morale, he performs his share of the work with enthusiasm and self-discipline, sustained by a conviction that in spite of obstacles and defeat, his personal and social ideals are essentially harmonious and worth pursuing." This definition of morale as a condition is in accord with William Ernest Hocking's² line of reflection. "What condition is to the athlete's body" he says, "morale is to the mind. Good morale is good condition of the inner man; it is the state of will in which

¹ G. W. Allport, "Morale: American Style", *Christian Science Monitor*, April 26, 1941.

² William Ernest Hocking, *Morale and Its Enemies*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918, p. 14.

you can get most from the machinery, deliver blows with the greatest effect, take blows with the least depression, and hold out for the longest time." He further elucidates this point by showing that condition implies fitness in general, fitness for any undertaking, whereas morale is fitness for a particular undertaking. It is, as he puts it, "a specific commitment to a specific undertaking. Morale is not condition in general; it is inner condition for particular objective: it is a will-to-give to the job in hand."

Thus both Allport and Hocking in their definitions suggest that morale necessarily implies sound physical and mental health, but one cannot accept this statement at absolute face value, for it is not unusual to find a high degree of morale when awareness of capacity or capacity itself is low. Thus China resisted and is resisting Japanese aggression when the frame of action (as in defeat, imprisonment, stark poverty and disease) has had an abnormally low value, and we find that poverty and defeat taken as an inescapable condition have never of themselves been able to destroy human morale. It is true that a high civic morale during war as exemplified so admirably in the British public depends on this condition of physical and mental fitness; it is also true that totalitarian states like the Fascist and the Nazi succeed in maintaining a high standard of morale in terms of regimentation and obedience, party discipline and the unreal realism of party myth, falsely simplified black-and-white issue-making, opportunism unhampered by principle, the justification of every means by the party end; but it is an undeniable fact that the morale of the Chinese people holds and will hold with or without ideologies, programmes, incarnate superman, or utopias.

It becomes more and more evident then that our notion of morale needs extension. Morale is something more than a condition of inner and outer fitness. Can we lay our finger on this something more? Perhaps if we proceed from the morale of action to the morale of endurance we may find a clue and be able to single out this something more. Just as there is a morale of the will-to-act or the will-to-work, is there not a much deeper and stronger morale of the will-to-live? And is not the morale of the will-to-live basic to all other morales? One has to exist before one can act. The morale of the will-to-live is not only basic, but its universal continuity gives it a permanence and vitality which the morale of action, no matter how well organized for direction, purpose and ideal, cannot possess. It is then this morale of *being* that furnishes the clue to this something more over and above the morale of *doing*. For action is evanescent, being is continuous. Neither groups, nor individuals, nor states can for ever go on undertaking specific acts under the strained accompaniments of actively built up morales. We see therefore that it would be absurd to define morale in terms of organic well-being alone, since the typical test of morale

appears when physical, mental and emotional well-being is well-nigh drained.

Morale then ultimately implies a belief that to be something or to do something is significant and that it is possible to achieve this end. It is these ultimate aims that sustain morale in any undertaking; and this implies that morale is directly dependent on a man's faith. The phenomenon of the indescribably high civic morale of the British people may be explained by reference to this factor. Nowhere can one find a clearer or more candid statement of the British war viewpoint than in the addresses of Churchill. A single aim runs through them all: "Victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be." The millions of Britishers who, through German bombing, have lost their homes, families and possessions show no signs of weakening. Though they spend night after night in underground public shelters, subway stations, cavernous basements and tunnels, they are cheerful and uncomplaining, accepting discomfort as part of the big job to be done—defeating the Nazis. That indiscriminate bombing cannot speedily shatter the morale of a courageous and determined people is more than amply proved in China, Spain, Russia and Britain. The bombing has stiffened the public morale instead of weakening it.

Thus it is clear that the morale of being is the degree of affirmation of the will to live, whether for one's self, or for one's cause, one's group or one's nation. The plain will to endure becomes a contest with discouragement, labour becomes a struggle against obstacles, and, paradoxically enough, negative objectives call forth the best morale. When some power goes to war for what it calls a better world, it is looked upon by the rest of the world as an aggressor, for it is not necessary to make war to create a better world; a better world has to be worked for. Accordingly, an aggressor might be asked what he is fighting for, whereas a defender can only be asked what he is fighting against, and there is no denying that when one is fighting against some power or nation the morale is much stronger than when one has to fight for an invented positive goal. Churchill's positive goal of making the world safe for democracy is shadowy, variable and indistinct as compared with the negative goal of the British people to defend their rights, liberties and lives against aggression. Hence, the high civic morale at home as contrasted with the poor British military morale abroad. Compare the flimsy morale of the Japanese positive ideal for a new Asia with China's negative incentive and morale motivated by the will to live and the plain will to endure. Or again, contrast the morale of the Soviet forces at the invasion of Finland with that shown in defending their own frontiers. It is obvious then that the fiercest and most determined fighting morale is that directed against entrenched injustice or threat to one's life, liberty, ideal, cause or principle. If there is no real grievance, the aggressor

must invent one and make his people believe it. The destruction of that belief is the destruction of their morale.

With these reflections on the nature of morale, let us turn to a few more definitions and analyse them with reference to the problem of building up civilian morale. Eric Estorick³ defines it as "a state of abundant psychosomatic health marked subjectively by an energetic, decisive resolution to achieve a given goal and objectively by a spirited, unyielding, cooperative, or coordinated effort. The tonus of morale is exemplified defensively by resistance to weakening influences from within (fatigue, reluctance, anxiety, irritability, conflict, despair, confusion, frustration) and from without (obstacles, aggression, rumours of disaster)."

Louis Worth⁴ thinks along much the same lines when he says, "By morale we mean that element in collective action which enables the participants to persist in their determination to achieve their collective purpose. Morale supplies the collective will to see an action through until the objective is reached. We ascribe morale to a group to the extent that it maintains this steadfastness of purpose, maintains its solidarity, its integrity, and its will to victory even in the face of adversity. Morale should be distinguished from *esprit de corps*, or collective enthusiasm which, while it may be conducive to morale, is not identical with it, but is as different from it as high spiritedness and evanescent enthusiasm differ from quiet endurance and undemonstrative, persistent, imperturbable adherence to a cause." "Good morale" says James Landis⁵, "is a state of mind, shared by members of a group and moving them to make the fullest use of their strength and skill to attain a given objective. It is not a state of mind existing in one man alone, but in many. It is not a state of mind to be enjoyed for itself, but to serve as a spring of action. It is not a uniform state of mind the same under all circumstances—but is relative to the end in view."

James Rowland Angell⁶ lays greater stress on the intellectual and emotional factors when he says, "like all human attitudes, morale depends in part upon certain intellectualistic factors—notably upon what we accept as the facts in a situation—and in part derives from the depth and vigor of the feelings and emotions which are called out by the specific issues at stake. Morale cannot long exist in a vacuum. It must have food to feed upon and a strong and enduring set of motives to keep it vigorous. A high national morale, especially in times of crisis, involves, among other things, a general belief that the

³ Eric Estorick, "Morale in Contemporary England", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVII No. 3, Nov. 1941, p. 462.

⁴ Louis Worth, "Morale and Minority Groups", *Ibid.* p. 426.

⁵ James M. Landis, "Morale and Civilian Defense", *Ibid.* p. 331.

⁶ James Rowland Angell, "Radio and National Morale", *Ibid.* pp. 352-353.

government is in safe hands with intelligent men of integrity in charge. It involves measureable confidence in the essential economic and social stability of the country and in the adequacy of its resources—both human and material—to meet any instant demands. It involves in normal times a reasonable conviction of security. These are all clearly elements of a relatively intellectual type. They concern information and knowledge accepted as reliable fact. But if, and as, a crisis develops menacing the welfare and even the existence of a nation, the firm resolution to face and master it will require, in addition to accurate and adequate knowledge, the stirring of the most vital feelings. Individual men will do much from a sheer cold sense of duty, the masses must be moved by emotional excitement and exaltation if they are to reach any high pitch of forceful action, and especially if this involves conscious acceptance of sacrifice, pain, and even death as lesser evils than those with which they feel themselves to be menaced.”

There indeed seems to be no end to the number and variety of definitions advanced by seriously minded citizens interested in the preservation of national morale, and a consideration of all these would fill a volume. Nevertheless, whether we consider morale as any desirable form of conduct on the part of the masses in a crisis, or as the relationship of a group to a given end, or as a resultant of work, play and understanding, or as a particular state of mind, or as a condition of physical, mental and spiritual well-being, certain inescapable facts stand out clearly. They are (1) that morale represents the dynamic factor in human motivation and human conduct, (2) that this dynamic factor is the indomitable spirit of man, (3) that moral well-being, health and mental hygiene measures, training programmes, provision of recreation and comfort are but the means to an end, (4) that the success or failure of an enterprise depends in the long run not so much upon our technological, economic, or financial resources as upon those inner resources of the personality of man which alone can supply the incentive to action, (5) that morale consists of the devotion of men to an idea, cause or principle for which they are ready to make any sacrifice, (6) that, though the idea-factor is predominant in morale-building, physical well-being should not be neglected, for both soldiers and civilians must live before they can live for high purposes, (7) that the prime element in morale is the identification of the individual with the collective enterprise, (8) that negative and defensive objectives serve as stronger incentives to morale than positive and aggressive ones, (9) that it is one thing to evoke morale, but quite another to sustain it, and (10) that therefore the morale of being is far more enduring than the morale of doing or the morale of action.

With these considerations before us let us proceed to examine the pos-

sibilities of building up civilian morale. But before we can discuss the methods by which good morale is created and preserved, we shall have to acquaint ourselves with the present situation and environment in which this morale is sought to be developed.

It is no exaggeration to say that modern war has become really total in more senses than one. It is total not only because the entire world is involved, but because it necessitates the participation of entire nations including the military as well as civilian populations. The modern battle requires the coordinated action of specialists and technicians individually. The entire nation participates not only by military effort, but by an economic effort in the form of production, privations, scientific research and ideologic propaganda. Today the separate spheres of society—military, industrial and civilian—have lost their frontiers and have become more closely interrelated than ever before. Civilians are virtually in the front lines, and must, while carrying on their daily tasks, experience the hazards which formerly was the duty of the soldier to face. Aerial bombings have extended the zone of battle to all the territory of the nation at war. The age old distinction between fighters and non-fighters has been obliterated on land as well as on sea. Military leaders place at the head of all military problems, the problem of supply, which is simply a recognition of the army's dependence upon its civilian base. A modern army is unable to maintain itself for a single day without the highly skilled and highly organized efforts of its entire civil population. It obviously follows that any disturbance of civilian efforts will rapidly react upon the military situation. The connection is so close and direct that a deterioration in the supply situation will inevitably lead to a deterioration of the military position, and the consequences will be grave. Military morale is, to a large extent, inseparable from civilian morale. In fact, since the morale of the front line derives directly from the morale of the civilian population from which the armed forces are drawn, the mind of a people must be mobilized no less than its man-power, for the "war will" of the civilian population is a nation's second line. Without national unity, based on high resolves and unfaltering determinations, the courage of the firing line is bound to be weakened.

There is still another aspect to be considered. Modern wars are a trial of strength between opposed ideals as well as opposed armies. With the appearance of total warfare in the modern world, morale has assumed a new importance and a new technical efficiency. Modern warfare includes as an essential element, psychiatric strategy and tactics, both offensive and defensive, for impairing enemy morale and protecting home morale. The principles of the former include destruction of faith in the meaning of life, disorganization of governmental control, disintegration of communities and direct demo-

ralization of the citizens. The object of so-called psychic warfare is to destroy the morale of the civil population back of the fighting lines. This is expected to paralyze the national will, making collective action impossible. For the "strategy of terror" is directed rather more at non-combatants and against those who must wait and endure than against those who can strike back. Thus public opinion becomes a major force, for it alone can generate the "war will" which depends upon the degree to which people can be made to consecrate body, mind and soul in the supreme effort of service and sacrifice. That is why, as Hermann Rauschning, the author of *Revolution of Nihilism*, points out, morale and discipline have become a religion in Germany and have achieved in that nation an unprecedented high level of intensity and effectiveness; that is why in addition to military, diplomatic and economic warfare the belligerent nations attempt to undermine enemy morale via radio and press propaganda; and that is precisely why people have learnt to hear of either defeats or victories without much disturbance in their determination. Since the battle field is no longer the theatre of war but involves entire nations or populations and the utilization of all the resources and techniques of the modern world, the air raids, no matter how indiscriminate, have served to bring the war home to the civilians as no mere reports from a distant battle front can possibly do. The poor labourer, farmer or artisan whose home has been blown to bits and pieces can hardly fail to realize that his own stake in this struggle is a very real one indeed. The chief distinction between the present and previous wars is the terrific physical and psychological threat to civilians everywhere, regardless of age, sex or class. Is it any wonder then that in this type of warfare, morale is playing a greater role than in any previous conflicts?

With this background of the situation as it is today let us consider some of the schemes, programmes, requisites and methods in the organization and building up of an invincible civilian morale.

Eduard Lindeman⁷ lists the following items by which the type of morale required of American citizens in this crisis may be instituted and sustained:

"1. Truth-telling with respect to world-events, progress achieved in our defence preparations, and those domestic problems which enhance or impede the nation's policy. "

"2. Forthright propaganda on behalf of those democratic ideals which constitute our major reason for taking the risks of war.

"3. Intellectual and emotional preparation for our future role in assisting in the reorganization of the world for peaceful purposes.

"4. A rapid extension of mental hygiene education for purposes of preventing hysteria, depression, and irrational mass movements following the

⁷ Eduard C. Lindeman, "Recreation and Morale". *Ibid.* p. 396.

cessation of war.

"5. A nation wide propagation of ideas and demonstrations designed to elevate the nutritional standards of the total population.

"6. Rapid expansion of all programmes of public sanitation and public health.

"7. Mobilisation of the liberal and democratic forces of the nation for a steadfast protection of civil rights.

"8. Extension of social and economic legislation designed to protect the weak and the handicapped, to insure a greater distribution of wealth and income, and to bring about a greater degree of justice.

"9. A national plan for expanding and improving physical education and recreation for the entire population."

These items seem to emphasize the rather superficial aspects of physical, mental and economic well-being without much reference to the deeper, underlying aspects in the strategy of morale-building. It is true that as in the military forces good and ample food, clothing and shelter, adequate weapons, thorough training, the instilling of an unflinching sense of duty, inspiring leadership and clear cut objectives contribute to military morale, so in civilian activity the availability of the essentials of life, leadership that inspires confidence, purposes that are clear-cut are among the elements conducive to morale-building and to evoking in the group the capacity to act collectively. Yet these prerequisites for morale, while they must exist in every group, are not sufficient to maintain morale at a high level. As pointed out earlier in this discussion, one of the essential conditions of high morale is a set of settled convictions; to make great sacrifices willingly a group must have an unambiguous cause for which to fight. No amount of forthright propaganda on behalf of democratic ideals, as Lindeman desires, will be of any avail if the people are not imbued with the feeling that their cause is right, that something desirable will result or something undesirable will be abolished through their collective effort. Above all, they must have the abiding belief that their cause can and will be realised, and they must have individually a stake in the common enterprise. To bring about this sense of a cause in which every individual believes is the business of the morale-builders.

In America the preservation of the democratic way of living has been presented as the cause, and we have only to consider the activities of the Civilian Morale Agency to realize the vast scale on which the morale-building efforts of that country are being carried on. Believing the civilian morale agency to be the product of social change, Ernest Angell,⁸ the President of the

⁸ Ernest Angell, "The Civilian Morale Agency", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March 1942, Vol. 220, p. 161.

Council for Democracy, remarks that the civilian morale office is brought into being to meet the totalitarian attack. "The impact of militarized totalitarianism, with its nihilistic threat to such revered institutions of the Western world as private property, organized religion, the monogamous family, nationhood, the stability of law, and individual dignity and freedom, has forced the defenders of this western civilization into a defense psychology for the first time in its long history." And again, "In 1939, for instance," he declares, "the Clarence Streit Committee, Federal Union, was created to marshal the opinion of the democratic world to combat the grandiose plans for a Hitlerian world order."

Not only did the international crisis give birth to such committees as the Willian Allen White Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, and the America First Committee as well as the Fight for Freedom organization and the Council for Democracy, but it influenced older social agencies to direct their efforts to the private morale-building field. These include the National League of Women Voters, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the American Jewish Committee, the Friends of Democracy, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Educational Association, the National Parent-Teachers Association, the National Association of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the National Association of Manufacturers and many other long established social agencies. Indeed, as Angell observes, "the civilian morale agency, with its own policy direction, research programme staff, membership, financial support, and internal structure, is a unique phenomenon to be found today only in the democratic half of the world." These civilian agencies establish a working structure with a staff drawn from civilian life, work out a policy-making directorate and an administrative procedure, evolve methods of fund-raising, establish a programme designed to carry out its general policy, arrange for its distribution and publicity, organize its research function, and make itself and its ideas known to other organizations in the morale field. Their greatest challenge, as Angell remarks, is to get themselves and their ideas accepted in open competition by as large a mass of the population as possible. They seek to reach the population not only through the domestic national or local community social action area but also through the international area. Thus we see how the civilian morale agency by spreading its propaganda through every possible channel of communication—the radio, the press, the public forum—has become a potent force in the moulding of public opinion and thus forming a formidable bulwark of civilian morale.

As psychiatric strategy is an essential element in modern warfare, some principles of positive and protective strategy must be borne in mind. In order

to avoid confusion, disagreement, dissatisfaction and consequent demoralization, dissemination of the understanding and knowledge of the social structure in the nation at war is absolutely necessary. Nor is the significance of the synthesis of solidarity and the control of disintegrative elements in the group to be overlooked. Persons with mental disorders or personality distortion must be cared for in institutions instead of being allowed to disrupt the morale by their hysterical or psychopathic reactions. Aptitudes and personal suitabilities of each citizen must be determined, and he must then be made to play his role in the total effort. Those who possess the attributes of leadership may be called upon to lead, but they must know whither they are to lead, and must be trained to a fully responsible attitude toward their followers. For the success of a nation at war depends largely on fitting each citizen efficiently into the total effort.

Indoctrination in childhood and the arousal of public spirit by intensive propaganda through the press, the radio, the movies, the theatre are other methods in the strategy of morale-building. In Germany, indoctrination of children and youth is given precedence over propaganda as the most subtle psychological weapon in creating and maintaining morale. "The home and the home alone can furnish the roots of a child's morale" says Dr. Thom,⁹ and goes on to explain that it is during the early formative years that "the child acquires from family associations a sense of security that comes from being a part of an organized unit, a fortress from which he emerges with confidence and to which he may retreat in the time of stress." As morale is largely derived from confidence, courage and a sense of security which enables the individual to face adversity with such determination that even defeat serves as an added spur to fresh efforts, Thom believes that this sense of security must be preserved at all costs and goes so far as to maintain that if the democratic form of government "has contributed more to the happiness, efficiency and sense of security of its people than any other form of government— notwithstanding certain defects, weaknesses, and shortcomings—why should we not impress upon and indoctrinate, if you will, our children with the inherent, positive values that are encompassed within the ideals of democracy?"¹⁰

To sum up, we might say that conscious efforts to create, bolster or improve morale depend upon four things: (1) training for general condition of body, mind and spirit, (2) systematic attention to the conditions of life and work so as to avoid irrelevant and unnecessary privations, (3) unflinching devotion to a cause, idea, or principle and (4) clarifying and affirming the cause

⁹ D.A., Thom, M.D., "The Psychiatric Aspects of Civilian Morale as Related to Children", *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. XXV, October 1941, No. 4, page 531.

¹⁰ D. A. Thom, *Ibid.*, p. 333.

through intelligent and truthful propaganda. These being the conditions under which civilian morale might be said to develop and to maintain an impregnable stronghold in the heart of a nation, what shall we say of building up civilian morale in India?

It is superfluous to state that all the foregoing factors constitute a tremendously powerful element in the creation and maintenance of civilian morale, and that they have been exploited to the fullest extent by all the nations at war. Why then should not these same elements succeed in the building up of civilian morale in India? Is there perhaps something inherent in the national condition of India itself that precludes the possibility? Let us analyse the present situation in India in the light of the most fundamental requirements for a successful morale-building strategy. We have posited a modicum of physical well-being as an essential prerequisite. Is the problem of the physical well-being of the Indian people met, or is any effort being made to meet it? This query is likely to be met with an immediate rebuff by the nationalist element in the country. "When hundreds of millions of people are existing or managing to exist on starvation diet" they say, "is it possible to even think of physical well-being?" It might be argued that the grow-more-food campaign might help solve this problem. Here again we have a counter-query thrown in our face. "For whom are we to grow more food?" they ask, "for our people or for the alien troops?" Thus we find that the essentials of physical well-being whether they be in the nature of food, clothing, health, sanitation or shelter are lacking and it is a mockery to talk of morale-building without efforts at body and mind building. It is for the government to improve these conditions if civilian morale is to improve.

Coming from the organic-factors of morale to the idea-factors, we know that devotion to a cause is the bed-rock of good morale. And it is here that the weakest spot in Indian morale effort is found. On the side of the positive objectives of morale it might be asked, "What are the Indians fighting for?" On the side of the negative objectives the query is, "What are they fighting against?" As pointed out before, negative objectives always call forth the highest and best morale. India, that is, national India, is quite clear about both her negative and positive objectives. Here, it must be borne in mind that the weakness does not spring from a lack of objectives or of the sense of devotion to a cause, but from a confusion of issues. The British governmental authorities believe that India, like the other allied nations, is fighting for democracy and against the forces of Fascism and Nazism. The Indian Nationalists believe that on the negative side they are fighting against the forces of Fascism, Nazism and Imperialism, be it Japanese or British; that they are fighting against the enslavement of one nation by another; that this is a fight for

breaking the bonds of slavery. On the positive side they believe they have a mission; they are fighting for freedom—freedom not only for India but for all mankind, for China and for all oppressed and exploited nations of the world; they maintain that no nation can be free so long as India and other subject nations remain in bondage; they believe that only a free India can generate civilian and national morale of the most effective type. When the energies of a nation are exhausted in fighting for political freedom at home, it is hardly possible to put forth a whole-souled effort built on the highest morale for international freedom. The loyalties of India are divided. Nationalist Indians will fight with the most unflinching devotion for the cause of freedom and for bringing lasting peace to the commonwealth of nations as well as for universal brotherhood, and the substitution of the doctrine of love, harmony and understanding for the doctrine of hate, rancour and bitterness. Others in India believe that the prime concern of India at the moment is to win the war and not let anything interfere with the effort to do so; that political freedom and other adjustments will be made after the great task of winning the war is over.

The nationalists, on the other hand, maintain that the war cannot be won without the full cooperation of India as a whole; that unless she is free there will be no total effort, for if the people's will is frustrated and ignored, if the immediate cause for which they are fighting is not recognized, the building up of morale for the ultimate goal of international commonwealth will be an impossible task; that people cannot be fired to fight for a remote ideal when their enthusiasm for the attainment of the immediate and real goal is constantly and systematically being undermined. And so we find that the task of clarifying and affirming the cause for the purpose of creating and bolstering up morale is well nigh an impossible one for the government. It is only when the will of the people and the will of the governing authority become one that the conditions for the highest type of morale exist. The civic morale of the British people is at its highest peak because the cause for which they are fighting is identical with the cause of their government. The same is true of Russia, China, and even Germany and Japan though morale in a totalitarian state is of an entirely different character. The government must find a way out of this impasse, for the present state of dissension, disruption, disorganization, conflict of wills, ideas, causes and principles is the very negation and annihilation of any morale-building strategy. Nay, it is the most successful weapon in the psychiatric strategy of the enemy, for this is precisely what the enemy aims at bringing about—a complete paralysis of national effort both on the war front and the civic front. The government can no longer afford to remain passive in these highly critical and abnormal times. The sooner a settlement amicable to both parties is reached the better, for an essential condition of

morale is oneness of purpose backed by an unfaltering devotion to a single cause. When the group will and the will of the governing authority are the same, the will-to-action and will-to-win will be the most formidable components of civilian morale. For, then and then only the organic factors and idea-factors will be welded into an inseparable and indivisible whole for the building up of the most invincible and invulnerable civilian morale in India.

RUMOUR

K. R. MASANI

Panic and rumour are powerful factors in diminishing the chances of a nation to defend itself successfully. In this article Dr. Masani probes into the psychological causes of the peculiarities and the spread or propagation of rumours which will prove helpful to all agencies interested in counteracting the evil effects of this dangerous herd instinct.

ALTHOUGH the subjects of Rumour and Panic are at all times interesting to study, they acquire a special significance and importance at the present time when from the point of view of the defence of a nation against an aggressor as much, if not more, depends upon civilian morale as upon the results of issues on the battlefields. It is not, however, suggested that civilian morale is entirely dependant upon a minimum of rumour and panic. The will to win and the will to fight an enemy, which are always present when a nation is free and when it regards the aggressor as a foe, undoubtedly play the major role in building up civilian morale and resistance to the enemy but even in free countries where such will to fight and win is prominent, panic and rumour would always tend to undermine civilian morale and cannot but lead to diminished chances of the attacked nation successfully defending itself. Apart from the importance of the subject during war time, the markedly increased occurrence of rumour and panic during war provides the scientific workers with rich material for study and investigation regarding some of the "tricks" of the working of the human mind.

Rumour may be defined as a complicated product of mental activity consisting "essentially in the transmission of a report through a succession of individuals acting in the nature of a series of witnesses each of whom bears testimony to a statement imparted to him by his predecessor in the series."¹ It is defined as a complicated product of mental activity, because a particular rumour is more than merely the end product of an original statement of fact distorted by successive passers on of the rumour, and due to the fact that rumour being a social phenomenon involving a group or a crowd of individuals in its production will be complicated by principles of social or mass psychology; these principles of "mass" psychology, although they are not quite so different from the principles governing individuals as was once believed by Le Bon and others, are sufficiently different from laws of individual psychology to introduce new elements and complications. It becomes neces-

¹ This definition is essentially based on the one given by Bernard Hart in his *Psychopathology*, Cambridge University Press, 1929, p. 94.

sary therefore at the outset to take note in a summarised form of the psychology of the crowd or mass psychology.

Le Bon² held that a crowd thinks and behaves differently from an individual and that entirely different principles of psychology apply to a "crowd" as compared to those applying to an individual. A short summary of Le Bon's views as given by Bernard Hart³ will be helpful. "Whoever the individuals forming a crowd may be, the fact that they have become a crowd puts them in possession of a kind of collective mind, which makes them feel, think and act in a manner quite different from that in which each individual would feel, think and act were he in a state of isolation. A crowd is always intellectually inferior to an isolated individual, for it does not think rationally but is swayed by the emotion of the moment. The type of thought it exhibits is, indeed, fundamentally different from the rational thought of an individual. Crowds think in images, and each image immediately calls up a series of other images having no logical connexion with the first, but associated only by analogy or some other superficial bond. Subjective and objective are scarcely distinguished, there is no logical direction of thought, and hence contradictory ideas may be simultaneously present. For a crowd nothing is too improbable to be accepted, and a suspicion transforms itself as soon as announced into incontrovertible certainty. The convictions of crowds always assume a "religious" shape, by which term Le Bon understands blind submission to a being supposed superior, inability to discuss dogmas, desire to spread them, and a tendency to consider as enemies all by whom they are not accepted. The dominating force responsible for all these phenomena is suggestion, to which the crowd is peculiarly and characteristically susceptible."

While the above gives a good description of the way a crowd thinks and behaves it must be mentioned that the distinction drawn by Le Bon between the individual and the crowd is needlessly too absolute and too artificial, and that recent advances in the psychology of the individual and of his unconscious mind and impulses clearly point to the fact that the individual in a crowd is not governed by totally different laws but merely shows a marked increase in regard to suggestibility and a much greater utilization of unconscious mechanisms of thinking and behaviour which make him appear to think and act in an irrational manner; such thinking may conveniently be termed "complex" thinking or emotionally biased thinking. The question then is one of degree of presence of non-rational or "complex" types of thinking and the use of behaviour such as is also found usually in individuals as apart from a crowd to a much less degree.

² G. Le Bon, *Psychologie des Foules* (English translation, *The Crowd*) London, 1896.

³ Bernard Hart, *Psychopathology*, p. 113.

It would be well to pause for a while and enquire why exactly a crowd tends to think and behave so readily in non-rational and emotionally biased ways as has been mentioned earlier. It has been noted already that it is the sensitivity of the crowd to suggestion that is mainly responsible for this, and the next question that comes up naturally is to enquire what produces this increased suggestibility in a crowd. Trotter more clearly than anybody else has provided an answer to this in his book *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*.⁴ According to Trotter the major factor in producing heightened suggestibility and consequently in the use of non-rational thought and behaviour is the operation in even civilised human beings of the herd instinct. This herd instinct corresponding somewhat to the gregarious instinct as observed in animals and described by McDougall and others, ensures that the thinking and behaviour of the individual shall be in harmony and consonance with that of the community. In every day life also it is mainly the operation of this instinct which largely makes an individual accept as a matter of course beliefs which are current in his social group and to behave according to the rules of conduct sanctioned by society. It may be seen that even in the psychology of the individual, as apart from crowd psychology, for the average person his beliefs, his ethical codes and his behaviour are largely governed by the operation of this herd instinct and that the herd instinct does not come to play only in herds or crowds. This is because man is fundamentally a gregarious animal tending to think, feel and act in harmony with the social group, and the only sphere of mental activity in which the operation of the gregarious instinct is minimal is in the sphere of rational and logical thinking.

As genuine rational thinking is very rare in spite of the popular belief to the contrary, it is easy to realise that the operation of the herd instinct is not at all restricted only to individuals forming a crowd. It can be easily realised however that in a crowd the total situation and the conditions are undoubtedly such as to make it particularly favourable for the influence of the herd instinct to become maximal. It comes about thus that in view of the fact that the herd instinct promotes non-rational and emotionally toned types of thinking and in view of the fact that the influences of the gregarious or herd instinct are maximal in individuals forming a crowd, individuals in crowds are less logical and accept opinions and beliefs and stories more readily and with less demand on their part of logical evidence than in the case of isolated individuals. In other words, rumours are likely to be accepted and believed without sufficient evidence, when the influences of the herd instinct are maximal.

We have seen that the herd instinct operates all along in the psychology of the individual as also in the psychology of the crowd in times of peace

⁴ W. Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, London, 1916.

but its operation is enormously increased in times of war or whenever there is felt to be a threat to the existence of the social group. Under such circumstances which so strongly stimulate the herd instinct, gregarious responses are aroused in each member of the herd. These impulses include an increase in positive feelings towards one's fellows, and increased sensitivity to them, and an increased tendency to identify himself with them so as to be affected by them and to share their sorrows and their alarms, their hopes and disappointments, their opinions and beliefs, and their behaviour. Naturally, the bigger the stimulus that brings the herd instinct into play the more strongly are exhibited the gregarious impulses just mentioned including a heightened sensitivity to the opinions of others accompanied by a diminished capacity to form logical judgments.

It becomes easy to understand that as war is the most intense of all stimuli to the herd instinct an increased prevalence in believing and passing on rumours is found during wartime. In this way people, who would ordinarily have detected the impossibility or improbability of stories and rumours, accept them and propagate them with great ease, as the rational activities, including the capacity for logical criticism, are greatly diminished. There is also found an interesting and direct correlation between the amount of rumours and the dangerousness of the war or the threat produced to the herd in different wars. Thus, as Bernard Hart⁵ mentions, the South African War did not produce such a great threat to England as did the World War No. 1 and rumours were much less prevalent in the former war; and again in the last Great War it was found that rumours were most prevalent in England during such times as when the threat to England was at its height, such as the outset of the war in 1914.

In discussing the psychology of Rumour we have discussed mainly the psychology of the spread or propagation of rumours and the peculiarities of thought found in a crowd, due mainly to the operation of the herd instinct, which we saw was maximally aroused when a nation's safety is seriously threatened by war. We have still to take stock, on the one hand, of the reasons for distortions and exaggerations produced in rumours and, on the other hand, of the factors immediately causing the origin and, development of the rumours.

In attempting to understand the distortions that occur in the transmission of a rumour from one person to another we are helped greatly by scientific and experimental studies that have already been made regarding the accuracy of memory and of giving evidence. These experiments have abundantly demonstrated that in giving evidence distortions and discrepancies creep in to an extent far greater than is ordinarily believed

⁵ Bernard Hart, *Psychopathology*, p. 117.

The impetus to a thorough study of the psychology of evidence was given by Binet,⁶ who sponsored the idea of creating a "practical science of testimony"; and later Stern⁷ founded a school of experimental psychology where a very large amount of patient experimentation and research was carried out regarding the accuracy of evidence. The methods adopted were quite straightforward and simple. A predetermined and uniform experience is submitted to a number of subjects; for example a picture is shown for a certain length of time and after a fixed interval each subject is asked to give evidence as to the details of the picture that has been shown. Evidence is obtained in two different ways either by asking the subject to narrate in writing as fully as possible all he has seen, or by interrogating the subject by asking him questions regarding the details of the picture. The questions are so framed as to be devoid of suggestibility and leading questions are strictly avoided. On obtaining the evidence in either of the two ways, the reports of different subjects are compared with the actual description and details of the picture shown, and the different reports are graded and classified according to the distortions found to have occurred. The time interval between the seeing of the picture and the collection of evidence in regard to it is varied from nothing to many weeks, and the results with the same group of subjects with varying time intervals in regard to a fresh picture or other pre-determined visual or auditory experience, e.g. recounting a story, are tabulated.

It will be seen that the interrogatory method corresponds fundamentally with the "cross-examination" of the law courts, and the results of the experiments on this method of collecting evidence will give a good idea of the reliability of evidence as given in Courts of Law. Side by side with the report describing the picture or story, or other experience presented, the subjects are asked to state how certain they feel regarding the evidence they give, and the assurance of the subject is graded in the four categories: (1) "Complete uncertainty", (2) "hesitancy", (3) "certainty" and (4) "attestation"; the last "attestation" meaning that the subject is prepared to swear to the truth of the evidence he has given.

In this way interesting and important data were collected some of which make startling reading. In general it has been demonstrated again and again that completely correct records far from being the rule were rare exceptions, even when the reports are made by intelligent subjects under favourable conditions and even where the subjects maintained that they were certain regarding the accuracy of the details they reported.

⁶ Binet, *La Suggestibilité*, Paris, 1900.

⁷ Beitx. 2. Psychol. d. Aussage Leipzig 1903-6 and Zeitschr. z. Angewandte Psychol. Leipsig.

It was found among 240 subjects that only 2% of subjects gave written errorless reports and only 5% of errorless depositions were obtained by the interrogatory methods. It was also found that the average subject in the absence of leading questions exhibited a coefficient of accuracy of approximately 75% that is approximately 75% of items of which the average subject is certain were found to be accurate. Where the subject was "absolutely certain" so as to be prepared to swear on oath the number of errors were less than where the subjects were certain but still as many as 10% of errors have been found in testimony given with accuracy amounting to attestation.

Further, it was found that if the time interval between the subject's observation and the time he is called upon to give evidence regarding the observation is increased, the range and accuracy of his observation are both diminished as one would expect; the subject's assurance regarding the correctness of his evidence, however, was found to show no corresponding diminution. In other words, in spite of the fact that a subject remembered a smaller number of details and made more errors in recounting an experience on increasing the time interval, his own belief in the truth of his evidence showed no diminution. It may be concluded from these results that assurance about the accuracy of one's evidence depends not so much on the actual freshness of memory and clear recalling of an event or experience as upon the personality make-up of the individual, in which naturally emotional factors play a prominent part. It was also found as a result of these experiments that if the interrogating method was used more details were remembered but fewer were accurately described. This was found to be so even when the interrogation was as free from leading questions as possible. It can be realised then how false evidence tends to become when suggestive or leading questions are employed, a fact to which the legal profession naturally attaches much importance.

This false assurance regarding one's own accuracy in accounting accurately what one has experienced or heard explains largely the fact that even where there is a large amount of distortion in a rumour, hardly any of the recounters in the series would be aware of or admit an inaccurate transmission to the next member in the series. These valuable studies have established the existence of inaccuracy and distortions in giving evidence even when there is no deliberate reason for consciously making false statements, but these experimental studies do not provide an answer as to why these distortions occur without the individual giving evidence having knowledge about them.

We have to turn to more recent studies of dynamic psychology and a study of the psychology of unconscious mental processes for a full understanding as to why these distortions and falsifications occur although the subject does not consciously or deliberately introduce them. In this connection the works

of legal workers and investigators also have contributed to an understanding of the reasons for perversion of evidence. It would take us too far afield in an article on rumour to describe and discuss the contributions of different workers in any detail and all that can be attempted is a summary of the knowledge pertaining to the question acquired by different types of workers such as the jurists, psychologists and medical psychologists or psychiatrists. In the process of giving evidence three types of mental activities are involved. Firstly, there is the process of perception and registration of the experience or event witnessed involving mainly what one hears and sees.

In the accuracy or otherwise of final evidence which a subject gives naturally a most important factor is how accurately the original experience was perceived. It is well known that when a particular objective event is viewed by a group of observers, the event is perceived somewhat differently by the different members of the group. What an individual sees is a good deal influenced by his prior knowledge and emotions concerning the object, as also on the direction of his interests. To give a very simple example, imagine that a visitor is discussing some interesting topic of conversation with his host who is accompanied by his small daughter, aged 4, who has been left alone to play with some toy she has brought with her. A large but tame dog then walks into the room. The event of the dog's entry will be perceived differently by the child as compared with her father. The child might have been frightened in the past by a dog chasing her, or she might have been frightened in the past even if a big dog had only tried to romp in a friendly manner with her. Or still again, a younger child without any such definite fear due to a past experience the child not having the knowledge regarding the difference in appearance of a tame dog running into the room in a friendly manner from the appearance of an angry dog about to rush at a stranger, would perceive the dog as a dangerous animal whereas her father if he was interested in dogs might notice him as a fine specimen of a particular breed of dog. Or again, if the father was not interested in the dog, and if the conversation was sufficiently interesting, he might not even notice the entry of the dog. It can be seen then that at the time of perceiving or registering an experience the perception is coloured by past knowledge and experience and a selective process comes into play depending upon the individual's interests and his emotional attitudes in regard to an object or the objects involved in the experience. The individual tends unconsciously to view or perceive an event in a subjective manner, that is in relation to himself, and he tends to pay attention to those factors which arouse his interest and to neglect or only imperfectly observe those which do not interest him much.

This subjective tendency based on interest and coloured with an emo-

tional bias accounts largely for vehement differences even in matters where opinions ought only to be governed by the intellectual faculties, such as rival and contradictory beliefs in scientific subjects; or again, taking the subject of medicine for illustration, narrow and dogmatic views regarding the causation of certain diseases are frequently expressed. This is because each worker is particularly interested in a particular set of factors or a particular approach and perceiving only these factors the workers genuinely come to believe that what is true only as one part or aspect of the problem is the whole truth about it.

Interest and emotional bias then always influence the perceiving of an object or event or gain a particular situation. It is well known again how in English Politics, for example, given a certain body of facts a conservative would tend to view an event with an emotional bias that may be termed a "conservative complex" and a labourite would come to diametrically opposite conclusions with a "labour complex". Now in most mental activities this emotional bias usually operates unconsciously. In the example of the politician each would tend to believe that the opinions he holds are the outcome of a purely logical and dispassionate analysis of the facts presented him. This process of self-deception termed rationalisation plays a very prominent role in life. Now the same kind of bias operates in registering an experience and the accuracy and objectivity of evidence given later will depend to no small extent on how much the process of perception was selective according to interest and distortions according to past knowledge, experience or emotional trends in regard to the objects or situations perceived. Again, in trying to understand the reasons for distortions in rumours this is a factor to be considered as we all tend not only to exert a selective process in perception but also tend to misperceive. For example, while eagerly waiting for the arrival of a car bringing a friend any far away noise bearing the faintest resemblance to the noise of a motor car is heard as the noise of the car bringing the friend. In like manner there are possibilities of a particular rumour being inaccurately perceived by different individuals. The greater the emotional strength of complexes or sentiments, the greater their influence in distorting perceptions.

A consideration of the perversions and distortions of perception, such as are found in definitely pathological conditions, namely, illusions, hallucinations and ideas of reference, abundantly demonstrates the meaning and mechanism of how to a slighter extent such distortions occur in normal life. In illusions one object or person is recognised as another. In this way the doctor in a hospital or nursing home is often thought to be some near relative like uncle X or Mr. Y. In every day life we are likewise liable to misidentify a person. For example, if eagerly waiting for or seeking out a particular person in a crowd such as at a railway station or at a concert with a large attendance, in

our eagerness to see the person quite often one or two people are for a fleeting moment felt to be the person we desire to see. A very amusing instance occurred some years ago when I returned to India after an absence of several years. At a wedding which I attended, I ran into an old friend about whom I had heard that he had married some time previously, and after we had talked for a while I made a polite inquiry about his wife and whether she was at the function. "Oh haven't you met my wife yet?" he said, and just then a girl passed by where we were sitting. My friend, who saw the lady's profile as she passed us, jumped to his feet addressing her "Oh dear, come and meet my old friend" and he brought her by the hand towards where I was. It was quite a second or two before he realised that the girl he thought was his wife was not his wife but her sister! His desire to introduce his wife to an old friend distorted his perception in the direction of making him see his wife in somebody who was not. It is true that the sister he mixed up with his wife was a twin sister but he had married a sufficient length of time to easily distinguish between them as he told me later!

A detailed study of hallucinations in which a person hears voices, or sees sights not perceived by other individuals in his neighbourhood, provide a particularly lucid and clear evidence of how one's own inner emotional conflicts and complexes, inner fears and impulses are projected into the outer world and appear to the patient to come from outside, in some cases either from certain definite individuals or from supernatural beings. One of my patients, a Parsee woman of 35, heard voices which appeared to her to come from a strange man with a deep voice. She heard words to the effect that "You have offended Mr. and Mrs. Y and they will retaliate by harming your husband's life." It was readily ascertained a few minutes later that she had herself felt guilty that she had not made a call on Mr. and Mrs. Y which she felt was expected of her and that she had offended them. She also felt uneasy and anxious about this. The words she heard in her hallucinations and which she believed came from a stranger as a warning or a threat were really projections of her own ideas of guilt and feelings of insecurity as she unconsciously felt that her neglect in making the call was an offence deserving some punishment or retribution. In rare instances a rumour too may be propagated as a result of a person having hallucinations, that is seeing a sight or hearing words which have no actual reality.

Turning now to the second of the three processes involved in memory or evidence, namely, retention of the perception or its conservation in the mind, various possibilities for inaccuracy have scope to function. The simplest to understand is simple forgetting of a detail which might materially alter the description of the event or the experience perceived; such forgetting is often

not confined to unimportant details, and active forgetting due to repression and the presence of complexes also occur. It is well known how even details of a dream very clearly remembered first thing on waking in the morning may be very much forgotten within the course of a few hours. Also a good many of our past painful experiences are forgotten on account of repression, and repeated forgetting to carry even important actions which are irksome, offer other illustrations. Equally in conserving the memory of an experience perceived or a rumour heard, the specific complexes of an individual will cause certain elements to be forgotten. Again, apart from simple forgetting a distortion of the experience actually occurs. It is well known that the past is always looked upon with an illusory light and the "good old days" probably appear good because much of the every day pains and irksomeness are blotted out of the memory and the past is distorted to look much rosier than it was. It is easy to understand that at times of great emotional upheavals distortions are likely to be the most prominent.

Again, the third and final process involved in testimony that of reproduction also has possibilities of distortions creeping in. One of the factors involved is the suggestive influence of the environment or the people around one when an experience is recounted. In a Court of Law the suggestive power exerted by the examining Counsel and the form in which he asks the questions play an important part, and therefore leading questions are as far as possible disallowed. In a group of individuals the setting in which one person unconsciously feels he has an opportunity to be the centre of attention by telling an important piece of news allegedly passed on to the recounter through "authentic" sources, again exerts an important influence on the contents or accuracy of the experience or story recounted. In such situations the grandiose complexes or those of self assertion and exhibition play a part which prompts the person to distort the information he was given in the direction of making it sound more effective and important or interesting and to fill in gaps in the story by inventions of his own. Now such distortions and inventions are mostly unconsciously introduced, that is, without conscious deliberation and knowledge on the part of the subject and it would be well to consider for a moment the subject of phantasy formation which affect the processes of perception, conservation and reproduction of an experience or of rumour. Phantasy formation takes place when complexes instead of trying to gain satisfaction by influencing the world of reality gain a partial kind of satisfaction by the creation in the mind of trains of imagery in which the goal of the complexes is imagined to have been fully satisfied. The simplest example is that of day-dreaming which occurs in most people from time to time and is most commonly found in children and adolescents. Often the subject is aware of

the unreality of the day-dreams and is consciously aware of the fact of phantasy formation, but quite often too phantasy formation takes place unconsciously without the subject being aware of it and in rumours both types of phantasy formation take a part in the production and distortion of rumours. The end results of conscious or unconscious phantasy formation vary much and may be manifested in a number of ways in normal individuals, for example, in mistaken beliefs and ideas, in lies uttered by children or adults, being more common in the former, unwitting exaggerations and inaccuracies in recounting one's past exploits, in the origin and distortions of rumours and the interesting phenomena of false confessions and false witnesses in sensational trials. At times the false confessions are due to definite mental derangement as in the case of a patient of the writer who confessed, during the trial of the Brighton Trunk Murder in which dismembered parts of the body of a murdered woman were discovered in a trunk at Brighton, that it was he who had murdered her, although in view of his having been detained in a mental nursing home for a considerable time prior to and after the murder he could not have played any part in it; but quite often such false confessions are made by apparently normal people in whom some of the motives for such behaviour are to be found in different degrees and combinations in different individuals to be a hidden sense of guilt for which the person unconsciously seeks punishment, unconscious impulses of an aggressive nature and an inner impulse to attract notice and attention by being the centre of attention in a sensational trial. This last impulse to attract notice and attention, and to gain in importance prestige and interest in the eyes of others is very commonly found in every day life and accounts partly for the urge to pass on a rumour with additions and exaggerations made unconsciously. It would be of interest to turn for a moment to the extreme form of this tendency found in an interesting pathological condition known as *pseudologia phantastica* in which condition the patient recounts entirely fictitious occurrences as if they actually occurred. It is usual to find in such cases that the patient himself comes a good deal into the story and is usually portrayed in a light adding to his worth and greatness, or making himself or herself out as a very distinguished or interesting person. Now it is true that a similar type of imagery exists in ordinary day dream but here the subject is aware of the unreality of the romantic and adventurous or grandiose role in which the daydreamer puts himself. On the other extreme in the delusions of insane people the individual firmly believes in the reality of his delusions. In *pseudologia phantastica* the belief of the individual regarding the reality of his confabulations is about half way between these conditions, and not unlike the attitude of little children towards the lying they sometimes exhibit, such as a child saying that he has done something which he has not,

for example, that he had gone out for a long walk in a lovely garden whereas it is known that the child never left the house.

Among the formations of phantasy found in such pathological conditions as hysteria one is usually able to discern a wish-fulfilment in regard to certain impulses which are repressed, or manifestations of anxiety and guilt in regard to such hidden impulses. Thus, in hysteria a very interesting example of phantasy formation is the creation in an otherwise altogether normal personality of a phantasied Prince Charming who is imagined by the subject to be deeply in love with her. The difference between such an abnormal formation of phantasy and the more normal day dreams of young women in which they picture themselves as being in love with and loved back by a particular Prince Charming or one in abstraction lies in the fact that the latter clearly recognise the unreality of their day dreams whereas the former show varying degrees of belief in their phantasies amounting to a definite conviction regarding the veracity of their ideas. Similarly, repressed impulses of aggression or masochism may result in phantasies regarding the torture or death of others or oneself and at times rumours have their origin in such phantasies. Bernard Hart⁸ cites the case of "the Scottish nurse, which attained considerable newspaper notoriety in the early days of the War. A young girl produced letters purporting to come from a hospital in France, describing the death of her sister after fiendish atrocities had been perpetrated upon her. The story was made public and aroused widespread indignation and sympathy, promptly cut short, however, by the alleged victim herself, who announced that she was alive and well, and had never left the confines of Yorkshire. Investigation showed that the girl had written the letters to herself, and that they were obviously the productions of hysterical phantasy."

It would be well to bear in mind that pathological instances, such as have been mentioned earlier, are merely the extreme instances of psychological mechanisms which take place in every day life in the production of day dreams, unconscious exaggerations and pseudo-lies, and there are no sharp lines of demarcation between such abnormal distortions of reality and the more "normal" distortions which occur in every day life. We have seen then that repressed impulses can cause distortions in the perception, retention and recall of experience, and that the sense of reality is likely to be maximally disturbed during conditions and settings of emotional upheavals such as a threat to the security of the herd as in dangerous wars; thus the presence of a war facilitates the extent and spread of rumours. The origin of the rumour and its specific quality, however, depend on the type of phantasy which again is connected with different types of impulses. It might be interesting to take note

⁸ *Psychopathology*.

of some of the main types of rumours; the following groups, according to Bernard Hart's classification, may be considered :—

(1) Rumours directly connected with the threat to the herd. When the herd's existence is endangered the anxiety and tension related to the expectation of danger give rise to perversions of reality and phantasies of being attacked, and rumours are started and propagated with great ease. In this group may be included rumours of invasion by land or sea, of the landing of paratroops, of the colossal size of the enemy's armaments, e.g., the size of guns or submarines, and rumours of the presence of spies. In Bombay, at the outbreak of the present hostilities, remarkable stories with minute details regarding many respectable continental persons were spread in this fashion, and a Dr. X was held to be an enemy agent who had been transmitting messages to Germany through a transmitter hidden in a piano. Now it is quite likely that once in a while such a story is accurate but in the great majority these are rumours due to the endangered condition of the sense of security of the herd. Similarly, more recently many predictions were made and "inside information" was passed on regarding the exact date of a Japanese invasion. It may be stated clearly that in regard to the origin and spread of such rumours, in many countries, a good many are due to deliberate enemy propaganda or political influences but a discussion of such rumours does not come into the scope of an article on the psychology of rumour and their consideration has been deliberately omitted.

(2) Another very common group of rumours is produced by mechanisms of wish-fulfilment, the creation of a pleasant distortion of reality so as to satisfy a wish. During the last war, there were many such rumours in England in regard to Zeppelins brought down in an adjoining country and of numbers of enemy submarines sunk, and the truly amazing Russian rumour that swept England. This was a widespread rumour in the latter months of 1914 to the effect that Russian troops had been landed in Northern Britain and were being rushed through England for employment upon the Western Front. It was subsequently proved to be entirely devoid of foundation. Bernard Hart states that "I conversed personally with a soldier who assured me that he had himself seen trains filled with Russian troops passing along the line where he was on guard, and he described to me the tall bearded men and the unusual uniforms."⁹ In Bombay recently at the time of the arrest of the national leaders, there were quite a few rumours to the effect that some particular leaders were not really arrested, and such rumours too would be largely dependent upon wish-fulfilment.

(3) Finally, there are rumours which owe their origin to the pre-

⁹ Bernard Hart, *Psychopathology*, p. 104.

valence of certain fundamental complexes common to our human beings. In view of the widespread prevalence of such complexes, human beings tend to seize upon any material liable to stimulate them since rumours are propagated according to the type of complex stimulated. In this way certain types of rumour are spread or propagated with great ease. In view of the fact that most of the fundamental complexes are connected with the repression of sex and aggression, the rumours of this group are derivatives and distortions of such impulses, of rumours connected with sex impulses may be mentioned the fairly common rumours of rape, and it is significant in this connection to note the keen interest evidenced by many people in regard to actual incidents of rape or stories regarding it. In hysterical conditions also the repressed sexual phantasies of female patients often express themselves by their making false allegation of rape against the doctor or dentist while the tendencies of some spinsters to look under the bed to make sure that there is not a man hiding underneath it has been often noted and commented upon. Bernard Hart quotes an interesting rumour during the last war, which owed its existence to phantasies of a sexual nature. This was a rumour that "the birth rate of illegitimate children has immensely increased owing to the license practised by and extended to the soldiers".

Again, in regard to impulses connected with sex and aggression may be cited rumours and stories concerning atrocities and brutalities. Repressed sadistic and masochistic tendencies in human beings are responsible largely for the strange fascination that such stories have for many people and for the particular facility with which such rumours are created and propagated. It is significant in this connection to note also the fascination which many feel towards sports such as boxing, wrestling bouts, bull fighting, cock fighting, while the keen interest which most people evince towards details of motor car and railroad accidents is well known.

The prevalence of such fundamental complexes as have been just mentioned accounts for the fact that rumours in different parts of the world and at different times tend to have a certain fundamental similarity in content. And again, it is largely due to these complexes which are common to the whole human race that myths and sagas and fairy tales of different lands and different periods have a fundamental similarity in the main themes underlying them.

We have seen previously that in times of war due to a threat to the safety of the herd, the herd instinct is maximally aroused with the accompanying non-rational and emotionally toned thinking and that these circumstances facilitate the origin and spread of rumours.

In regard to the origin and spread of rumours, we may in addition note two factors, connected more with the psychology of the individual himself

which further facilitate and bring about rumours. In the first place, there is definite impulse to pass on a rumour to transmit its contents to other individuals. A similar impulse is noticed also in the irresistible impulse so many people have to communicate items of news or gossip to others. Further, such a tendency is also very noticeable in many people in regard to wit, in the shape of passing the stories and jokes. The grandiose complexes, including the impulses of self assertion and desire for importance, wishing to be the centre of attraction having the eyes and ears of admiring listeners, are a very common phenomenon in every day life, and we saw the presence of such complexes underlying the fabrications of cases of pseudologia phantastica and hysteria. One of the causes for the impulse to pass on a rumour is fundamentally the same type of importance and attention seeking complex. It is interesting confirmation of this tendency that the recounter of a rumour tends frequently to bring the alleged events of the rumour as nearly as possible in relation with himself, in the sense that the alleged incidents were observed by somebody related to the person or a near friend by a first cousin in high official circles, or again that the events in question occurred in one's own presidency or in a part of the city where one lives.

Factors connected with the operation of the herd instinct constitute another very important cause for the impulse to pass on. The function of the herd instinct in animals is to ensure the safety of the herd when threatened by making appropriate calls or movements to acquaint other members of the herd of the danger that is perceived or felt to endanger it. In like manner, human beings have a very fundamental urge to take part in the welfare and safety of their own social group or "herd". It is this desire to identify oneself with the herd, to promote its welfare and safety, and to be "in it" which undoubtedly plays a role in propagating rumour as the person feels thereby that he has done his bit for the herd often in the specific sense of passing on a warning call of coming danger or at any rate in the sense of doing something for the herd. It is an irony of fate that the propagation of false rumours of alarm far from promoting the welfare of the herd, actually undermine its morale.

The subject of rumour being a complicated one, and one which requires a good deal more of study, it has not been possible within this brief space to do more than give an idea of some of the psychological factors and mechanisms found in rumour which it is hoped has helped a little in understanding the subject and stimulating further thought on it.

THE STATE AND SOCIAL SERVICES

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In these times of economic and emotional insecurity social services form as strong a fighting force as the Army, Navy and Air Forces. In this article Dr Titus maintains that extension of social services to meet the concomitant problems of wartime will help people keep up their morale, help the Government to mobilise all resources and make it possible in the end to convert the 'crisis' gains into permanent functions of the State.

SOcial workers constitute the fighting forces on social frontiers just as much as the Army, Navy and Air Force on geographical frontiers. Lord Bevin, Minister of Labour in Great Britain, is quoted as saying that the British public social services as developed in the last quarter of a century have had as much to do with the preservation of England in these days as the gallantry of the R.A.F. In America the social gains and extension of public welfare activities since 1933 as a result of the depression have helped a great deal in making the home defense efficient and effective. It is an established fact that the total warfare of 1942 demands tactics of offensive both on the home and enemy fronts. It requires not only munitions, planes, guns and ships, but organization and tools to safeguard the human values in the warring countries. The two elements necessary to win modern wars are, on the one hand, armaments and, on the other, morale to keep up the fighting heart of the people. The courage of the people will be kept up if they know and have faith in what they are fighting for, if there is a reasonable chance to attain that end, and if they have a chance to participate in the total planning. Any government that refuses to take care of the social exigencies and needs brought on by the war is dampening the interest and diluting the will to fight.

If Truth is the first casualty in war, Security is the second. In the modern war the sense of insecurity is spread throughout the population. This feeling of insecurity and fear of danger always lead to panic and breakdown of morale unless there is a bolstering up of courage, hatred towards the enemy, love towards one's country and an indomitable will and determination to resist. None of these can be achieved unless the people feel that the Government is doing all in its power to help the people at large. The panic in Madras during April last, when the people heard the news that a formidable Japanese fleet was in the Bay of Bengal, led more than 80% of the Madras City population to run out of the City. Such panic indicates the lack of morale, and also of their diffidence in their own capacity for defence and resistance. The man in the street does not know the intricacies of modern warfare and de-

fence. But he knows the inconveniences and dangers of the modern total war. To render service on an organized basis, to meet the contingencies that arise in a war or panic-situation is the best guarantee for giving him confidence that there is a government that looks after his interests.

Social Services in wartime are the out-reaching arms of the big brother, the State, which help the needy and the panic-stricken to muster courage and regain confidence. War unleashes a whole flock of new problems on the harassed civilian population. Plenty of things, besides bombs and bullets, threaten them when the nation is at war. Separation of parents and children, new surroundings, worry over relatives, financial difficulties made acute by rising prices and the absence of the breadwinner, evacuation troubles, adjustment in the back-at-home atmosphere for a longer period than for a short vacation—all these and many more may and do bedevil a family which in peacetime was snug and sound. Such problems are too acute, abnormal and big to be left alone with smug indifference and complacency in the belief that they will work themselves out. Even if the government or the community intends to do something about it, it certainly cannot be handled by amateurs and mere well-meaning busybodies. Personnel for social services in wartime should have that extra competency to deal with the critical and unprecedented problems that are bound to arise. Formation and extension of organized social services are urgent in wartime. It is all the more important that such services should be 'manned' by the right personnel if at all they are to function efficiently and effectively. To win a war, a powerful Army, Navy and Air Force, maximum production of war materials, and high civilian morale are assential. Social workers form, we may say, the "morale production unit". This important job can be done only if it is clearly defined and if it represents the co-ordinated efforts of every individual and section of the field of social welfare.

So far most of the activities in India towards the establishment of "morale production units" were, to say the least, completely out of tune and in dire ignorance of the lay of the land. Certain organizational techniques were copied from the warring countries and were considered as fit for this country without realising the social and psychological differences of the people and also of the situation. It was not necessary to sponsor a National War Front from official headquarters in Great Britain, America, Russia and China. It just spontaneously came into being out of the will to resist. But the fate of Indo-China, Malaya and Burma reveal a different story. Anyone who has not been segregated from the common mass of people in India realises with consternation and alarm that what is is more like what was in Malaya and Burma, and what is in China and Russia is what is yet to be in India.

To be more explicit, the morale in India, whatever Ostrichian people

may say, is still, and of late more truly so, in the reverse gear, and has never in any section of the people of this land reached that glow and glamour of the soul-deep morale of the Chinese and the Russian, of the charwomen of London and of the John Does of America. Let us take the case of John Doe, the average American. John Doe and his wife and three children must live, along with 54% of the population, on less than \$ 1250/- a year (last U. S. Census). The Does are part of the 46% of the people who live in substandard housing. They are among the 75% who do not have proper diet; they are on the borderline of the 40% who are definitely undernourished. The Does do not realize the fact that, according to the Social Security Board, the minimum income for health and decency for a family like theirs was 1,500 during the depression, when prices were lower. Against all these handicaps and grudges, what does he do? He hates Hitlerism and loves America. He is giving everything he has to help his country win. Yes, his country where he has been brought up on the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights. Democracy to him means the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the right to vote, the freedom of individual and group expression. In recent years it has come to mean the right to social security and freedom from economic worry. The four freedoms have been promised him by the President. So now he is in the war and means to win it. All the puzzling over the *pros* and *cons* of fighting, of sending an expeditionary force, is ended. He has no qualms about what must be done : the attack must be met. He may have hoped that he would have a more perfect democracy to defend, but now he is fighting to preserve what he has and hopes to emerge with a better democracy. Naturally, therefore, John Doe's morale is high.

Here in India the John Does were indifferent as usual. But now so far as the war against Fascism is concerned his morale is in the reverse. The situation has come to such a pass that the government has found it necessary to adopt measures such as collective fines, arrests, whipping, shooting etc., to keep law and order and to defend India. Compared with his American brother he does not have a Bill of Rights and what he is asked to defend does not mean to him life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. He has been psychologically tuned, intellectually fed and organizationally trained to fight for something else. In the confusion of knowing a "present enemy" who is within and being told how worse the "coming enemy" will be, he is more inclined to settle the present and then face the future. India, in short, has entered a war on double fronts and 'Quit India' slogans are competing against the call for National defence. Wise statesmanship and imagination on the part of politicians here and in Whitehall can dissolve one front, and with double vigour and comradeship and with redoubled energy and morale, fight for democracy and free-

dom for all the people of all the world.

Having felt the pulse of the nation and realizing the downward trend of events heading to a major catastrophe, 15 prominent Indian leaders¹ in an appeal sent to Mr. Churchill from New Delhi on September 10, 1942, stated:

"The Indian people must be made to feel that they are defending their honour and freedom, their hearths and homes, against the foreign aggressors. The examples of China and Russia are there to indicate that only a people's war can be waged successfully under modern conditions. The most influential political party (The Indian National Congress) in a mood of utter despair, finding no adequate response to this legitimate demand, wished to change their policy of non-embarrassment, but before they could promulgate the same they were incarcerated and a policy of repression ensued . . . Events in India are rapidly moving towards a dangerous climax, and there never was a period in the last 100 years when the feeling against Britain was so bitter as it is today. Before it is too late, we urge the British Prime Minister who has, if he chooses, courage, vision and statesmanship, to settle this problem, now and for all time, in the interests of Britain and India."²

The same day Mr. Churchill, in the House of Commons, in the course of his eagerly awaited statement on India, in spite of the above appeal and as if the Indian leaders do not know what they are talking about, said :

"The Indian Congress Party does not represent all India (Cheers). It does not represent the majority of the people of India (Cheers). It does not even represent the Hindu masses (Cheers) Mr. Gandhi and other principal leaders have been interned and will be kept out of harm's way until the troubles subside I may add that large reinforcements have reached India and that the number of white soldiers now in that country, although very small compared with its size and population, are larger than at any time in the British connection I therefore feel entitled to report to the House that the situation in India at this moment gives no occasion for undue despondency or alarm."³

On top of this shockingly disillusioning, unrealistic, brutal and calamitous statement comes the revealing statement of Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member Government of India, in the Central Legislative Assembly on September 15, 1942. In the course of his speech initiating the debate on the present situation in India, he said : "One thing quite plain is that with an enemy at our gates and another within them, the prime duty of this Government is to undo the harm that has been done as soon as possible and to put

¹ Among the fifteen signatories were two Premiers (Muslims), three Ministers, two Knights, two M.L.A's, and the rest Hindu, Muslim and Sikh leaders.

² *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore, September 12, 1942.

³ *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore, September 12, 1942.

this country in a state of defence against both.”⁴

It would seem from this statement and judging from what is going on in different parts of the country that Mr. Churchill's "White Soldiers" are here in unprecedentedly large numbers more to fight the "enemy within" than to fight the "enemy at our gates". But the *people* of both Britain and India are more concerned to fight the enemy at our gates. It will take a long time to convince the peoples of both countries that those who are behind the prison bars today are their enemies. The reception Mr. Churchill's speech has had in India may well be revealed through the editorial columns of an Anglo-Indian paper, by no means a pro-nationalist one, when it wrote characterising the speech as "little short of calamitous" saying, "Every real nationalist—and their ranks include many who harbour the liveliest regard for Britain and who are unequivocally sincere in their support for the cause of the United Nations can truly say that they asked for bread and has been given a stone." The attempt to lower the prestige of the Congress by jugglery of figures, the paper states, is "merely fatuous casuistry", and goes on to say that "the Prime Minister could have fully satisfied the aspirations of the large bulk of sane nationalist feeling in this country if he had reduced the conditions of transfer of power from Britain to India to the constitution of a representative National Government fitted to be the repository of that power. Had this been done, Britain would have demonstrated as baseless the mass of suspicion which exists in this country and, at the same, time would have placed on the shoulders of Indians themselves the burden of resolving the present imbroglio. A valuable opportunity has been wasted"⁵ concludes the paper. The hall-mark of ability is to govern without force, and it is the property of democracy not to search for its saviours from afar. It must find them within itself and they are in plenty within India. The real enemies of democracy are those who maintain a double standard—one for themselves and an entirely contradictory one for others. The history of all imperialist nations is replete with this paradox. India today has become a test-stone for Britain to solve this paradox and release the energy and enthusiasm to fight the enemies of democracy, freedom and true happiness of mankind.

In America, even in spite of conscription, it is estimated that only one out of every 19 Americans will see direct action in this war. In India it is doubtful whether one in 400 or 500 will see direct action. But the rest of us are, or ought to be, rear-guard soldiers—men and women who must work every hour, every minute to supply the needs of the men in combat and to strengthen the home defences. Despite the war on the home-front, there is no

⁴ *The Times of India*, Bombay, September 16, 1942.

⁵ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, September 12, 1942.

desire in any section of the people to make common cause with the enemies of democracy and freedom. There is no desire to rely on any outside 'deliverer' coming and establishing freedom. All the same there is the lack of consciousness on the part of the people that they have a duty to perform to preserve and establish real democracy. They have to be made conscious that even though the government for the time being is not *of* the people and *by* the people at least it is *for* the people. India officially is today fighting with the United Nations for her national independence in a free world. She is fighting against the powers which would destroy democracy everywhere. Her greatest asset is her people. Her greatest liability is the blockade which, for any reason or in any way, inhibit the people from making their speediest maximum contribution. Her supreme domestic strategy—deeply related to the strategy of a unified command of all the allied forces on the fields of battle—is to give every last citizen at least a promise of security and of importance in the common effort. In this strategy, social workers can play a role of the greatest importance.

Total war requires the mobilization of the entire population—a social and a military mobilization to forge a People's Army guarding the home defences as well as the military outposts of democracy. For this the people must have a conscious appreciation of what they want to preserve and what they want to defeat. Mere forebodings of the evils of a defeat on our side will not release the necessary energy. Slogans of mere platitudinous nature which have no bearing on their own immediate problem are not going to enthuse them for action. Apart from the generalities of democracy, freedom etc., each country among the United Nations is fighting to preserve what it calls "our way of life; our form of government; our King and country; our hearth and home; our Fatherland" etc. Similarly, our people should also feel that they are fighting for something which is too sacred to be lost and which will be destroyed if the enemy succeeds. All these can be created by just one stroke of statesmanship. It is only too obvious that only such a definite lead will create the psychological and social situation to get the people to put in their best for the defence of India. Even at that, it is necessary for the common masses to realise concretely that there is a government which, apart from collecting fines, taxes and passing ordinances, is interested in the promotion of public welfare. In England, America, Russia and China public welfare services have been expanded manifold to help the people. These agencies express their concern that social needs be met effectively, that the people's well-being be strengthened so they shall be capable of vigorously defending themselves at home and of destroying fascism behind its own ramparts. The aim is to make each community a stronghold of embattled freedom. These agencies reflect and implement the will of a people united to defeat fascism, to conserve democratic

social values and to march forward to new social goals.

Extension of social services even in normal times is obligatory on the part of any government. It is all the more necessary in periods of social upheavals and crises. During wartime such extensions are indispensable both as a defence measure and as constructive work. Unfortunately, in India public welfare programmes are still utopian ideals to be realized at a later stage. The rapid progress that has been made in U.S.A. reveals what the people mean when they say "our way of life." There, annual public welfare expenditures increased from approximately \$ 40,000,000 to more than \$ 6,000,000,000 in fifty years. The total amounted to less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of the national income in 1890, but reached 8 per cent of the national income in 1940. In terms of Government expenditures, welfare costs have increased from 4% to nearly 30% of the total.⁶

Comparative figures of State Expenditure on some major items in Great Britain and India reveal the deplorable state of affairs in our country :—

State Expenditure in Percentages of Revenue—1938-39

<i>Great Britain</i>				<i>British India</i> Central and Provincial	
Defence	27.3	} 31.4	34.0 } 43.3
Police	...	...	4.0
Jails	...	...	0.1
Education	18.2	} 40.9	8.4 } 11.8
Medical & Public Health	...	...	22.7
Agriculture & Veterinary	...	...	1.4

"Social services in India are starved at the expense of a top-heavy administration and a high expenditure on defence and police."⁷

If we include the cost of Frontier Defences and the heavy loss on strategic railways, the proportionate cost of defence will be much higher than what has been in Britain before the present war, in spite of the fact that India hardly possesses a Navy and an Air Force equal in any way to the strength of any of the allied nations. Of all paradoxes in India the most ludicrous is the maintenance of a 'Rolls Royce Administration' in this 'bullock-cart' country. The defence of India is not to be made impregnable by mere increase in armaments but in making the people feel that there is something to be defended. Public welfare services are the major arms of the defence forces

⁶ Mabel Newcomer : " Fifty years of Public Support of Welfare Functions in the United States", *The Social Service Review*, December 1941, p. 657.

⁷ Dr. A. C. Ukil : " Some Aspects of Public Health in India", Proceedings of the 28th Indian Science Congress, Part II, pp. 289 and 305.

in any country and more so in India. In Britain and U.S.A., the constructive social measures of peacetime were readily developed to meet emergency situations, and those so developed are expected to contribute to the long-time promotion of civilian welfare.

Effective attack on wartime social problems is launched most quickly if we have an administrative machinery already at hand, assimilating the new necessary features into the organized welfare structure. We do not have any such public welfare department or administrative machinery comparable to those among the Allies. But such a machinery has to be created and set functioning effectively as an item of the victory programme. The base for victory for a war, such as we are in, is total mobilization of a united people. Obviously, real unity can be achieved only around a program which meets the needs of the people—enabling them to play their full part. A major part of that programme relates to social welfare needs. A government is no less culpable if it lacks the courage to face the facts and the foresight to see and plan for the present and the future in the socio-economic area than in the military. Indifference to such spheres of activity in so-called normal times has brought us to such an anomalous stage. But the 'crisis conditions' demand immediate attention and a positive programme of action directed to meeting effectively the unprecedented opportunities and needs of the hour. We are already faced with the following immediate issues :—

1. Need for financial assistance to :
 - (a) Dependants of men in the armed forces.
 - (b) Those who are deprived of income from relatives who are in the enemy occupied territories such as Malaya and Burma.
 - (c) Refugees from such areas.
2. Need for expanded health services to ensure :
 - (a) Rehabilitation of men rejected or deferred as physically unfit for the armed forces.
 - (b) Maximum productivity of workers in the war production effort.
 - (c) Maximum ability of the population to withstand physical and emotional stress.
3. Need for intensive service to families or individuals facing demoralization or emotional upset as a result of :
 - (a) Separation due to men joining the armed forces or leaving for jobs in defence industries and others in different parts of the country.
 - (b) Casualties in warfare.
 - (c) New strains inevitably arising from a total war effort.
4. Need for expanded programmes of child welfare :

- (a) Day care of children of working mothers.
 - (b) Guidance and mental hygiene services to handle specific problems of parents and children arising from factors in the war situation.
5. Need for a detailed programme in preparation for crisis such as bombing and invasion :
- (a) Evacuation programme for mothers and children.
 - (b) Meeting of emergency needs in housing, clothing, feeding, money, and the like.
 - (c) Training of personnel in protective and non-protective civilian defense services to handle on-the-spot problems of panic, hysteria and so forth.
6. Need for general improvement of the economic condition of the people :
- (a) Extension of co-operatives, producers', consumers' and distributors' societies.
 - (b) Extension and enforcement of Debt Relief Acts.
 - (c) Moratorium on civil suits which entail hardships and loss for poor people.

It is the responsibility of social service agencies, public and private, to contribute to the formulation of a programme to meet these needs. Some of them call for special legislation and planning on a national scale. All public-minded men and women, if they are to discharge their obligations in the war effort, must throw their full weight behind the measures which are recognized as essential to provide the aforementioned services. Apathy and active opposition to proposals for expanded social services may be expected from some sources. Lack of funds and trained personnel may be often ballied forth as excuses. The achievements of 'poor China' in the field of social welfare during the last four years ought to put to shame any such critic or opponent. The waging of a grim struggle for existence has not prevented the administration from looking after the social welfare of the people. China's Ministry of Social Affairs is fighting its own battle courageously though it is short of both money and trained personnel. One aspect of the Ministry's work has been the promotion of labour organization. A regulation was issued to encourage members of professions and crafts to join guilds composed of their professional brothers or fellow craftsmen. The guiding of important movements, such as the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement, the New Life Movement and the Thrift Movement is another task of the Ministry.

The social welfare of the people, however, is the main concern of the Ministry. This covers social insurance, social service, labour welfare, child welfare and vocational guidance. A Social Insurance Bill, drafted by experts

and scholars engaged by the Ministry, is soon to be put before the government. Factories and other concerns are required to run clinics, schools, tiffin-rooms and dormitories for their employees. In regard to relief the Ministry's policy is to assume responsibility for those unable to support themselves and to put them in the way of learning useful crafts and of starting life anew. The Ministry has set up several service stations which offer (1) cultural service through reading rooms and libraries, (2) economic service through granting of small loans, (3) everyday life service through mail boxes, information desks, travel assistance, hostels and dining rooms, and (4) employment securing service. The Ministry is also in charge of the Co-operative Movement and is stressing their social value. Is India less resourceful in funds and personnel than China, to be shy of such new ventures in the field of Public Welfare?

The National Defence Council can take up the immediate programme of extension, co-ordination and organization of Public Welfare. Local, provincial and national bodies will take up responsibilities as functioning units by the organization of Community Service Committees. The functional areas of operation for the community service committee may be divided into (1) family security; (2) recreation; (3) health; (4) information service and (5) volunteer training.

Family Security Committee should be charged with the responsibility of supplying such people as needy families, children, the aged, the blind, non-residents, and others with the minimum of social services at least, as well as with other functions, such as location of missing relatives, that may be required during an emergency. The Committee should be responsible for developing the detailed plans necessary for care of evacuees and persons made homeless by war disaster and for determining and training professional and volunteer services to cope with any possible situation. In addition, this Committee should be charged with evaluating and interpreting to the community the increased requirements of social service agencies during the war effort even though no war disaster may occur.

Health Committee.—It should be the function of this Committee to co-ordinate the health services in the community. A real need exists in the availability of medical services, which can only be met by emergency training for both regular and volunteer services.

Recreation Committee.—This will have to perform a dual role. It will first of all evaluate the existing recreational facilities, and then formulate recreation plans for all groups in the community, taking into consideration the possible shortage of certain phases of commercial public recreation. Because of the limited facilities that would be enforced on the community by air raids, black-outs, and other war precautions, the highest degree of imagination and initiative will be required in devising suitable recreational opportu-

nities for the community as a whole. In planning the programme, special consideration should be given to permanent recreational needs. The organization of recreational facilities in the shelters and 'tubes' in London have revealed not only the ingenuity of the Londoners to adapt themselves but also the salutary effects it had on the people by and large.

Information Committee.—Each of the other Committees will require the services of an Information Committee, whose responsibility will be preparation and distribution of news releases, plans, procedures, posters etc.

Volunteer Training Committee.—This Committee should relate its activities to those centres where volunteers register. Many of the persons who have registered for enlistment in the volunteer services have little understanding of the social service techniques. Likewise, many of those who are in charge of these services have little experience in working with volunteers. Moreover, the public is not used to such volunteer services and service men, and hence will arise many difficulties if the personnel of such volunteer services is not well chosen and properly trained. The difficulties we have had with Civic Guards, certain A.R.P. Officers and such like illustrate the point. Willingness to co-operate is not the main criterion of selection for voluntary services.

Training courses should be developed for both volunteers and social service agency workers to function efficiently in crisis situations. Volunteers should be given some general training in the social services and a short period of field experience. Special workers for study, survey or planning groups having to do with current problems or disaster needs should be made available.

The central theme of the organization planning should be complete co-operation of all social agencies and persons for the services of the community. Take the service when it is found to the people who need it. Use the present pattern of social agency organization and supplement or delete as necessary, keeping in mind the desirability of developing sound, permanent community organizations. Utilize the entire community—paid workers, volunteers, public and private social service agencies—in providing emergency and permanent services. Identify all existing agencies in one community service committee.

The different unrelated un-coordinated private communal agencies existing today can be utilized to great advantage in this crisis situation. Some of them, like the Parsee Social Service Agencies, are already making arrangements to render help to their needy in a crisis. It is mainly cooperation and coordination that is needed together with extension of public welfare agencies to meet common needs of the public and special needs of those who are not taken care of by any private agencies.

Many agencies have already been created to meet some of those needs, especially in the matter of A. R. P. But air raids are not the only calamities

that we have to guard against. Moreover, most of the agencies inaugurated for Civil Defence are mere appendages to the different permanent departments of the peacetime government. When we study the chart showing the general organization of Civil Defence in India, we find that apart from the A. R. P. agencies organized under the respective departments of the Government, there are very few organizations to meet the other needs of the people in a crisis. If the war expenditure is an index of the efficiency of the execution of the war, India lags far behind. It is reported that Great Britain was spending £ 13,000,000 (Rs. 175,500,000/-) a day by the middle of this year ; U. S. A. was spending \$ 100,000,000 (Rs. 350,000,000/-) by the beginning of this year and it is estimated that the daily expenditure will be \$ 275,000,000 in 1943; while India is spending only Rs. 5,000,000/- daily, major part of which again is to be debitted to the "Home" government. The meagre voluntary contributions to the war gift funds may be interpreted as the lack of appreciation on the part of the population that it is a people's war. As it stands, the A. R. P. scares them ; food situation irritates them ; transportation difficulties annoy them ; war propaganda amuses and confuses them and the political situation embitters them. Even the inconveniences of the war situation are now considered to be the result of government's inefficiency. They are not voluntarily and willingly accepted as necessary for the successful execution of the war. Out of a population of 33,000,000 of working age, i. e. 14-65 age group in Britain 22,000,000, are today doing full-time war work. They are saying "give us the tools and we will do the job". In India the cry today is "give us the opportunity, we will make the tools and finish the job."

A change in the political atmosphere will release energy unprecedented in the history of India to fight to preserve something newly gained, to make it secure for all the people of all the world for all the time. The war, they say, has brought about seven revolutions all at one time in China. India could afford to have many more to reinvigorate and modernise the entire social structure to make it a land of peace and goodwill. The extension of the tender arms of social services by the State is one of the means whereby such aims can be fulfilled. In wartime it is imperative. In peace time that extension of social security will be one of the gains accrued out of the many other evils of war and will become the obligatory task of the government. Thus we will win the war as well as peace. A total war is the people's war ; whosoever wages it, the people alone can win it. The grand strategy in India then is to get the people behind the war programme, to relieve them of anxiety by ensuring social security, to enthuse them by changing the date on the 'post-dated cheque', and make them vanguards of a new era of peace and plenty by promising a peace, equitable and lasting.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

MISS BEATRICE RUDDEN (1890-1942)

THROUGH the sudden death of Miss B. Budden on July 17th of this year, Bombay has lost not only its first full-time Juvenile Court Magistrate soon after her appointment, but a truly sincere and earnest social worker. Miss Budden was interested in social work from early life and she received her first training in Birmingham at the well-known Quaker Social Centre. After her arrival in India, she worked in a girls' industrial school near Delhi and spent about two and a half years studying rural life and conditions in an Indian village. Miss Budden's connections with Bombay itself date from the time she returned to India after her training in the London School of Economics where she obtained a certificate in Social Service. On her return in 1937 to India, she was appointed Secretary to The Children's Aid Society, Bombay, and Superintendent of The Umerkhadi Remand Home; later she was appointed as Chief Probation Officer to the Juvenile Court as well. From then onwards, Miss Budden contributed much to the improvement of the Probation Service in the city. She strove hard throughout to secure the services of as adequate a number of well trained probation officers as possible to cope with the ever-increasing amount of work.

A matter to which Miss Budden rightly paid a great deal of attention was the question of providing some kind of occupation for the mental welfare of children. She tried always to procure for the children of the Umerkhadi Home training and opportunities for working in different kinds of crafts, and she was generous enough to provide for such training herself when it could not be secured in other ways. She had a soft corner in her heart for the mentally defective children also, and infinite patience and sympathy for them. It was largely due to her that the mentally defective children were taught different kinds of satisfying and interesting handcraft whereas previously all that they did was to make small paper-bags.

Another contribution of Miss Budden's was in the nature of providing a Foster Home for children in whose case it was felt that the best psychological treatment would be in the nature of providing a foster home. Foster home placement was almost unknown in Bombay for delinquent children or children with behaviour problems, and it was due to Miss Budden's genuine love and sympathy for them and her knowledge of child psychology which prompted her to initiate such Foster Home Treatment and carry it out successfully.

The spirit behind the sympathy and care which she bestowed on these children by being a mother to them was also noticeable in her general attitude to all the hundreds of children who have been in the Umerkhadi Home and others with whom she came in contact. As Superintendent of the Remand Home, she was exceedingly popular, and considering its restricting atmosphere and confining nature, her popularity indicates clearly how genuine must have been the sympathy and care she bestowed upon the children in her charge.

Helpful, friendly, amiable and generous to a fault, Miss Budden was a sincere friend to those who knew her and through her death Bombay has lost not only its first Juvenile Court Magistrate, an Office which she held with distinction, but a genuine social worker as well, and her friends and admirers have lost a sincere and friendly soul, ever ready to lend a helping hand, free from prejudices based on race or religion, but concerned with the one thought of the amelioration of the lot of the children under her care, and of the establishment of progressive and scientific methods in dealing with the problems of juvenile delinquency. We bemoan her death and hope that her spirit will continue to live in the minds and hearts of those who had the privilege of being her fellow workers in the major field of her activities here in India.

THE MISSION TO LEPERS

THE official census of 1931 states that there are only 147,911 lepers in India.

But the report of the Committee, appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Health to report on leprosy and its control in India, says that the true incidence is on an average eight times this figure and that in some highly infected areas the incidence may be from 5 to 10 per cent of the population surveyed. The very haphazard and meagre attention paid to the cure and control of leprosy in India makes it probable that the number is still on the increase. What is being done at random by private and public agencies does not touch even the fringe of the problem. Among the few agencies that are at work, very commendable work is being done by the Indian Auxiliary Branch of the International Mission to Lepers. The well-illustrated and neat Report of the Mission for the year 1940-41 tells us of the excellent work that is being done in 40 homes in 8 provinces of British India; 2 homes in Burma and 7 homes in seven Indian States. The total number of inmates in these 47 homes are 10,109 among whom 934 are healthy children who were saved from the ravages of this disease. Among the 9,655 leper inmates 969 are children, 3,177 are women and 5,509 are men. During the year 5,934 out-patients also were treated. Of 10,181 cases treated during the year as in-patients, of whom records are available, 1,092 had been declared 'disease-arrested' before

deformity had begun. Another 596 were declared 'disease-arrested' but with deformity.

The total expenditure for running these homes has amounted to Rs. 7,48,590/-, nearly half of which came as Government and local grants and the rest through contributions by the Mission to Lepers Headquarters in London and contributions made direct to the Mission's institutions. Local support by way of gifts of money and buildings are also much in evidence; as, for instance, the postal workers of South India contributed largely to the cost of creating a beautiful Social Hall at Manamadura; the Mithibai Koba Mungaseth Ward at Calicut was erected through the benevolent gifts of a medical practitioner there.

The inmates are helped to make social adjustments and by the cheer and encouragement given to them by the noble band of workers at the respective centres, they are helped to get out of the 'slough of despair' and take a new lease of life. The faces of the inmates as shown in the pictures reveal certainly a happiness seasoned with the agony of pain and sorrow. The report cites many telling stories of individual cases. How much these poor victims of this scourge suffer is revealed in the following story :—"I passed my matriculation," writes this applicant, "and came to J . . . to continue my college course. I have passed my first year exams but cannot study further as I am not healthy. You will understand what I mean from the fact that I am writing to you. To write and think about it gives me a shock almost to death. I feel the agony of death facing me; it seems to have already laid its cold hands on me and I am in its clutches. I feel doomed to death and feel inclined to commit suicide. You can perhaps understand my agony, for I can't put it into words. I cannot mix with healthy society, and there is no place for me, even in my home."

A Brahmin, educated and well-to-do, came to one of the homes saying "my home, my money, my friends, my children and my own wife—all mine, but all have forsaken me and driven me out into the streets because of the disease." One boy, driven out of his village by his own mother, has found another foster-parent in a supporter overseas. It is opportune to state that support of adult lepers may be shouldered at any of the Mission's Homes for Rs. 100/- per annum, and of children for Rs. 75/- per annum.

"Krishna came when 12 years old, ragged, dirty, covered with sores, hopeless and weeping. He had walked alone over 12 miles in the heat because some one had said we would give him a home. The burden of his cry was "My mother beat me out of the village!" Yes, just because neighbours said that she must go also if the boy would not go alone—his own mother sent him away in this manner. Now Krishna has been adopted by a friend overseas."

The gratitude of these unfortunates, their willingness to serve, their contributions for Red Cross and other such humanitarian work make their coppers shine like gold. A young untainted lad, who was an inmate of one of the homes, has been working as a mechanic in an Aluminium factory in Calcutta. He recently donated Rs. 425/- for the purchase of a microscope for use in the Asylum.

The reports from almost all centres narrate the tragic and painful necessity of turning away applicants for admission to these homes. At Fyzabad alone over 400 were turned away in the course of 5 years. The Report states that support of adult lepers may be shouldered at any of the Mission's Homes for Rs. 100/- per annum and of children for Rs. 75/- each per annum.

Mission to Lepers is an expression of the creative aspect of the Christian religion. The heroic self-sacrificing and loving spirit of these Ambassadors of Goodwill and Angels of Mercy are too sacred and deep to be scorned or exaggerated. Whatever one may say against the practices of certain evangelical missionaries and mission bodies, such humanitarian services are expressions of the vital force of dynamic religion. The atmosphere in the homes make the inmates feel that all is not lost yet; that there are many things beautiful in life even for a leper. These stalwarts of faith, courage and kindness are frequently accused of using these homes of service as proselytising traps. Such criticisms are irresponsible and often indicate that through such remarks the critics only compensate their own sense of failure to do something for these lepers by belittling what others are doing. To most religious groups, these lepers are just so much socially discarded timber. If they come out of these leper homes as socially useful citizens with a halo of cheer and courage and if in this process of regeneration they by their own free will adopted the faith of those who served them, it is nobody's business to throw stones at them or at those who helped them.

There are, of course, other organizations and agencies tackling the problem of leprosy in India. But are they adequate? Can we postpone the urgent necessity of extending the services to a greater degree to meet the needs adequately and soon? We wish the Mission to Lepers a long period of continued usefulness and congratulate the staff at the respective centres for their splendid achievements.

SEX DEVIATION

CASES convicted of unnatural offence were not till recently eligible for admission although they may be casual. This created interest and we made enquiries as to the prevalence of this offence in a certain district and we are putting the information we gathered before our readers.

In the opinion of three local citizens—one of them is a magistrate—33% of the male population (age between onset of puberty and when physical degeneration sets in) is given to the unnatural offence. The local bar believes that 20% of the male population practises this vice. According to an experienced police officer, 33% of the male population is given to this offence. So also the inspecting officer of schools maintains that 50% of the boys in rural area is given to this offence. The officer in charge of municipal schools states, and that is based on the figures of the complaints received, that 23% of the school population is addicted to this unnatural practice. Therefore, if we consider the actual figures to be 30% we would not be over-estimating the prevalence.

In January 1939 we examined the inmates of this institution (Juvenile Jail, Bareilly) medically. We found 22% of the boys showed evidence of having played the passive role. To this we must add the number that played the active role, and that is invariably higher. For an active agent it is an outlet for sex urge and a source of pleasure. In the case of a passive agent it is due to: (a) fear of punishment, (b) identification with a rich or influential person, (c) monetary and other material gain, and (d) perversion in a few cases; to such it is a sensation of pain. Pleasure is only possible in cases of a few perverts of the masochistic type.

On the basis of the above information it will not be an over-estimation if we come to the conclusion that roughly 30% of the male population in this district at one time or another indulged in homosexuality.

The police records of the district showed only four arrests and three convictions for the year 1939. This reveals a vast difference that exists between the offence on the one hand and the arrests and convictions on the other. Roughly 30% of our admissions, on the basis of the above investigation, have indulged in homosexuality at one time or another, and yet those who have the hall mark of conviction under section 377 I.P.C. were not eligible for admission into this institution. This restriction has lately been removed.

Every one passes through the age of homosexuality (homosexuality is used in the broad psychoanalytic sense, *i. e.*, love for the same sex) between the age of six and onset of puberty. After the onset of puberty one must have the opposite sex to take interest in, in order to develop a normal sex interest in life. In the absence of free association with the opposite sex in this province, regression is a possible alternative. Therefore, large number of people must remain or revert to the level of homosexuality, and homosexuality after the arrival of puberty is likely to take the form of unnatural offence. This appears to be the reason why unnatural offence is so prevalent. It is likely to continue to prevail so long as the society forbids the free association of the two sexes.

Our further interest in this matter in our own institution was to see

how far we could reduce the malpractice inside this jail through our correctional programme. The medical examination done on the 15th January 1939 showed that out of a population of 136, 30 boys had physical evidence of having played the passive role and that gave the percentage of 22. We cannot give any figure as to how many played the active role. On this subject we found enquiries would have not given us any information that we wanted ; but we know from private sources that a certain number came in as passive agent from outside but a good deal of sodomy was going on inside the jail. The distribution of 22% is given below :—

<i>Caste</i>		<i>Population</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
High caste	...	41	12	27%
Low caste	...	79	16	20%
Mohammedans	...	16	2	12%
		<hr/> 136	<hr/> 30	

Second medical examination was done on the 13th July 1940, *i. e.*, a year and a half after the introduction of our correctional programme. Total population at the time was 183. 21 out of the total number of boys on medical examination showed evidence of having played the passive role, percentage being 10.

<i>Caste</i>		<i>Population</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
High caste	...	42	9	21%
Low caste	...	116	10	8%
Mohammedans	...	25	2	8%

This shows a decrease of 12% amongst the passive agents during the period. It also means proportionate reduction in the active agents.

The third medical examination was held on the 14th November 1941, *i. e.*, about three years after the introduction of our correctional programme and about a year and a half after the second medical examination. The population of the jail on the day of examination was 195. Out of these 14 showed definite signs of having played the passive role. One was a doubtful case. This gives a percentage of 7. The distribution of 7% is given below :—

<i>Caste</i>		<i>Population</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
High caste	...	40	5	12'5%
Low caste	...	121	7	5'8%
Mohammedaus	...	33	2	6%
		<hr/> 195*	<hr/> 14	<hr/> 7%

This shows progressive decrease among the passive agents from 22% to 7% in three years. We attribute this reduction to the following reasons :—

*This includes one doubtful case.

(1) Our correctional programme, which has been in operation for almost 3 years, keeps the boys occupied from 5 o'clock in the morning to 9 o'clock in the evening and gives no time for idling or evil talk.

(2) We stopped boys having control or authority over other boys. We still make 'Stars' but they are made because of their conduct and habit of work. This enables them to get more remissions, and serves as an inducement to industry and good conduct. But no boy is allowed to exercise authority of any kind over other boys except the captains of the teams and that only on the playground. All authority is vested in the paid staff.

One of our visitors, when discussing the subject of unnatural offence, asked : Would it not lead to increase 'in a still bigger vice'—masturbation ? He was asked why he called it a vice. He replied : Because of its ruinous effects on the victim's mind and body.

Masturbation as a result of normal urge and in moderation has no deteriorating effect either on the body or on the mind. It may be looked upon as an alternative outlet for sex relief in absence of natural outlet for sexuality. Deterioration takes place when sense of guilt plays a dominant role in the mental mechanism. Then it does lead to neurosis and physical deterioration. Root cause is the sense of guilt. Sense of guilt is created by the faulty teaching by the father, religious teacher, associates and perhaps the school teacher. Our aim should be to free the boys from the sense of guilt. If the boy wants to know anything about sex, he should be given the required information in a "natural way" without showing emotion and without creating emotions in the boy. Our own attitude so far has been such as to prevent us from volunteering any information. Hence, boys do not come forward of their own accord. Only when there is any case of evil effect, we take him in hand.

Uptil now in this institution we have had only two boys who showed evil effects of masturbation. One was a Sikh. He complained of loss of appetite, strength and weight, inability to exert and take part in the normal activities of the institution and growing loss of sight. The other boy was a Mohammedan. His complaints were similar. Both the boys under psychotherapy showed a great deal of the sense of guilt regarding masturbation. The Sikh boy was easily cured because his sense of guilt was created by his associates after the onset of puberty, i. e., the roots were in the comparatively superficial strata of his consciousness. The Mohammedan boy was a difficult case. His sense of guilt was created by his father and later by his religious teacher in the very early stages of life. Both of them are perfectly fit now and are taking part in every activity of the institution.

LIEUT.-COL. A. H. SHAIKH, I. M. S.

Inspector General of Prisons, United Provinces

WOMEN WORKERS' TRAINING CAMP

THE need for training women workers for social work has long been felt and at the Coconada session of the A. I. W. C. Report of the Sub-Committee dealing with the Women Workers' Training Scheme was adopted unanimously. Srimati Kamaladevi was appointed Convenor and entrusted with the carrying out of the scheme, assisted by a Sub-Committee.

The primary idea was that the work undertaken by the branches of the Conference would never be carried out systematically and developed satisfactorily unless there was a steady supply of trained social workers which would increase year by year. It was, therefore, decided that a Provincial Workers' Training Camp be started, which would train women to become organizers of social work in their respective provinces. The branches of the A. I. W. C. were to send one woman from each province and be responsible for the expenses of her training, provided she gave an undertaking to work in the province for a minimum period of two years looking after the social work already started by the branches, developing it and arranging for the training of other women workers in the province.

Srimati Kamaladevi, assisted by Srimati Mridula Sarabhai, a member of the A. I. W. C. Workers' Training Sub-Committee and our Hon. General Secretary Srimati Urmila Mehta, lost no time in working out a curriculum for the proposed Training Camp. They were assisted by members of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work in Bombay and other social workers. Rules and time-tables were drawn up and Srimati Mridula Sarabhai succeeded in finding a suitable place for the Camp.

Abrama is a village in Surat district, about three miles from Vedchha which is a railway station on the B.B. & C.I. Railway. The camping grounds themselves are situated between Vedchha and Abrama. The place was chosen because of its nearness to the sea—and therefore cool enough to permit outdoor activities—and of its proximity to several rural reconstruction centres where students could see work of various kinds in progress.

Unfortunately many of the branches did not or could not avail themselves of the opportunity thus offered to them. This was partly due to the prevailing uncertain conditions; the branches could not find women willing to travel long distances or be away from their homes for a period of three or four months. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that only Andhra, Baroda, Bombay, Cochin, Gujarat, Kathiawar, Karnatak and Mysore sent candidates to the Camp. Of the other candidates admitted, 7 were already engaged in social work and were sent for further training by the institutions where they had been working; the rest were independent candidates, for 18 of whom the organ-

isers succeeded in raising scholarships. Admission to the Camp was limited to fifty students and a number of applications had to be rejected.

The site of Abrama Camp is a large grove of mango trees, some of them so big that all the campers could sit in their shade and listen to a lecture or do other work. Facing the road is a long-stretched building with a number of rooms where the girls kept their things. The back verandah was used as a dining place. In front of this building is a big open space which was used for physical exercises in the day and sleeping out at night. Distributed in a semi-circle round the main building, but at a good distance away, are very attractive little huts with 1-3 rooms each and a front verandah, which housed some of the instructors, visitors to the Camp and visiting lecturers. It was Mira Ben, I believe, who was responsible for the planning out and building of these huts, which not only added to the charm of the scene, but were also very comfortable despite their extreme simplicity. She also directed and supervised the construction of bathrooms and lavatories for the Camp, and from my own experience of a week's stay in the Camp I can say that they were a great success from the sanitary point of view.

The campers themselves formed a very happy family with Kamaladevi at its head. From 5-30 a.m. when the first bell of the day aroused the Camp into activity till the last bell at 10 p.m. when all lights were put out, the whole place reminded one more of a busy beehive than anything else. What struck me, a new-comer, most to start with was the orderly, well-planned activities of the day, the apparently effortless discipline which everybody accepted naturally and the spirit of friendship and cooperation all round. It is very seldom, as far as my experience goes, that an atmosphere of freedom is combined with a discipline which is effective and yet not irksome, but it was certainly achieved in this experiment.

Of the fifty campers, 11 were Muslims, some were Parsis and the rest Hindus. They all merged into one harmonious group in work and play; they dined together, served the food in turn irrespective of religion or caste and helped in cutting vegetables for the kitchen. But all was not smooth sailing from the beginning. The cooks around in the neighbourhood decided to boycott the camp because of its unorthodoxy; thereupon the campers cheerfully assisted in the cooking themselves. Srimati Mridulaben came to their rescue by sending her own cook, for no local cook was willing to work in the Camp. Incidentally, the Camp was the sole gainer; for, the food produced by the new cook, though simple, was well-cooked and delicious. The Camp food was vegetarian, but those who wanted meat were given an opportunity of cooking it themselves in a place specially provided for the purpose. Some of the non-vegetarians started off by cooking meat twice a week or more often, but finally

decided to cook it only on Fridays which is the Camp holiday. It, however, happened several times that in the excitement of camp life they forgot all about it, even to their own astonishment.

The curriculum drawn up for the Camp was very comprehensive and well thought-out. Its main purpose was not only to teach women a variety of subjects, but to give them an idea of the structure of our society, economic, political and social, in which they have to live and work, and to introduce them to problems which they would come up against as social workers in one form or another. The range of subjects taught, both theoretical and practical, would, it was hoped, provide a background for the social worker which she could draw upon and develop according to the needs of her work. In introducing and explaining the curriculum to the campers the fact was stressed that most, if not all, social problems are inter-related and that the range of subjects had to be wide enough to cover problems arising in all strata of society. The curriculum thus included problems under the headings of "Man and his Fellows", "Man and his Environment", "Development of Culture", by way of a general introduction. Current problems included the Present Economic and Political Condition of India, Problems Specially Related to Women—social, economic and legal—and Problems Specially Related to Children, National Problems and Constructive Movements, Social Psychology and Mental Hygiene, Physiology, the Planning of Future Social Order and so on. In addition, there were music classes and manual training classes in spinning, toy-making, gardening as well as instruction in soap-making, dairy-farming, bee-keeping, fruit and food preserving and laundry work.

Physical culture and games, riding and cycling were not forgotten which made a full day for the campers with all their other work of washing their own clothes, cleaning their rooms and performing in turn the various camp duties.

Trips to surrounding villages and rural reconstruction centres were arranged nearly every week. On these excursions the campers had an opportunity of seeing practical work done and of learning to make family budgets for families earning varying incomes.

Friday was a holiday for the Camp, but to all appearances it was as busy a day as any other. Games-clothes were washed and dried, clothes mended, things arranged and the day passed very quickly. In the evenings there was a Camp fire to which various groups contributed items of entertainment. They mostly consisted of small sketches written and acted by the campers and often topical of camp life and therefore very spontaneous and amusing. There were also among them a few good musicians who contributed their songs on these occasions.

The working day started with an hour and a quarter of physical exercises and lathi drill, for which the campers wore their games uniform—salvars and shirts—and after the morning tea there was time for practical classes and bathing and washing of clothes. At 10 a.m. there was the first theoretical class. If the lecturer spoke in Hindustani, all the girls assembled under one of the big mango trees to listen and take notes. If there was an English lecture, the campers were divided into two groups; those who understood English attended the lecture and those who did not formed another group where a previous English lecture was given to them in Hindustani. After lunch at 11 a.m. the Camp rested for an hour and a half, after which the library was open for the girls. Classes began at 2 p.m. and continued till 5-15 p.m. with a break for tea in between. After that there were games for an hour and dinner at 7 p.m. Dinner over, the campers strolled in the grounds in groups; sometimes individual girls brought up problems and questions arising out of the day's lectures and there ensued a discussion which attracted others. On some days the whole Camp met and administrative difficulties were brought forward, complaints lodged, announcements made. On other days there was community singing or a music class.

I found this after-dinner hour one of the most attractive features of the social life of the Camp. It enabled lecturers and instructors to get into personal touch with the girls and discuss all kinds of things with them. Though there was usually a discussion towards the end of every lecture and girls asked questions freely, discussions of a more personal kind, of personal difficulties in actual work or personal doubts in a particular theory, came up spontaneously at this time.

These evenings gave me an insight into the keenness which these girls and women—for some of them are mothers—brought to bear on all that was given to them in the Camp, and made me realise how receptive their minds were to new ideas. Their discussions convinced me that a three or four months' intensive training in a Camp such as this left a greater impression on the students than a year's instruction given in the ordinary way. Taken away from their accustomed environments and responsibilities, their minds are obviously much more ready and able to concentrate on new problems and assimilate new ideas.

Watching over the day's work of the Camp in letter and spirit was Kamaladevi. She inspired, organised, advised and supervised everything from the academic work down to the office and the kitchen. Her eyes during the day were ever on the clock, lest the bell which directed the day's activity be a minute later than the appointed time, with the result that everything and everybody was punctual to the minute. But that was not all. In a Camp

like this, emergencies arise almost every day which have to be coped with, from visiting lecturers who did not arrive on the appointed day (so that the next day there are four of them instead of two) down to, let us say, the vegetable man who failed with his supply because he had gone to attend a marriage ! However, all that did not seem to ruffle her or if it did, she did not show it. The Campers respected and adored her, and she in her turn was always ready to help them however big or small their problems. It must be said that she made a thoroughly good job of the Abrama Camp which was appreciated by the Campers, visitors and lecturers alike.

The organizers were also fortunate in securing the help and co-operation of prominent men and women who came to Abrama to lecture and teach. I do not mention names, because there are so many of them and it would be invidious to single out a few. They came from Bombay, from Ahmedabad, from Baroda, and one—the music teacher—from Santiniketan, without stinting time or expense and gave of their best, some of them staying for a week or two, and some just for the day.

It is encouraging that the first Camp organized by the Conference was such a great success, except for the one fact that the A. I. W. C. branches failed to send their own candidates for training. I hope, however, that they will make up for it by taking heart from what has been done in Abrama and organizing their own local camps. I wish the Conference would decide to make these training camps a permanent feature of their programme of work and start a permanent fund similar to the A. I. W. C. Education Fund. This would ensure continuity in the work of training social workers, who are needed in thousands, and would be the greatest contribution the Conference can make towards social work in India.

KITTY SHIVA RAO

CARING FOR RELEASED PRISONERS

MOVED by the plight of the unfortunate in the jails and prisons of his day, a humble Boston shoemaker began a great movement in the reformation of offenders when in 1841 he took from the court for a period of probation a delinquent who under his care and with his friendship became a man again. During the 100 years from then John Augustus' example has been followed by many, and probation system has been introduced into the treatment of juvenile offenders in many parts of the world. Compared with the progress made in this line in many other parts of the world India is lagging far behind. But there are small attempts made here and there to introduce the probation system. One such attempt is the organization of the Discharged

Prisoners' Aid Society in the United Provinces. The Report of the Society for the year 1941-42 says :—

“At the end of the year under report, 236 probationers were under supervision of the Probation Officers. Out of these 218 or 92·5% were helped to obtain employment. In the first quarter of 1942, 70 new probationers were placed under the supervision of the Probation Officers; 23 probationers successfully completed their period of probation and in 3 unsuccessful cases probation had to be terminated. In the first quarter of 1942 the Probation Officers were asked by the courts to make enquiries in 144 cases under Rule 12 of the U. P. First Offenders' Probation Rules, 1939.

“Probation work is gradually developing in the Province and it is hoped that it will be doing effective work in the eradication of juvenile delinquency and in reformation and rehabilitation of young offenders. The Society hopes that the Government will see its way of extending the entire Act to some other districts of the Province.”

There are District Committees in all districts of the Province except Muttra. Assistance given to the discharged prisoners is of various nature; it includes finding jobs, paying for railway fare, board and lodging, providing tools, clothing, shelter and land, placing in institutions, and such other aids. In some places free legal aid is given to deserving under-trial prisoners. Homes for homeless on the model of the one at Cawnpore are being established at Allahabad, Agra, Lucknow and Aligarh. Some district committees are doing intensive work in rural areas. At Farrukhabad, they are considering a very commendable scheme for the proper upbringing of small children of female prisoners confined in the Central Prison. Posters, charts, khadi and industrial exhibitions are the methods of propaganda. The Society was publishing an official organ 'The Penal Reformer' to educate the public. It was a good publication in its own way, and it is unfortunate that it was running at a loss and the Provincial Government found it difficult to give it financial assistance. We do hope that the efforts of those responsible to revive the publication will meet with success.

The detailed report given by the Chief Probation Officer is helpful in studying the various aspects of the problem. The remarkable decrease in the number of cases of failure (only 2·4 per cent) under the probation system must be encouraging to all those who believe in this system of reformation and rehabilitation of young offenders. Analysis of the residence of offenders show that 61 per cent were from cities and 39 per cent from rural areas. Assuming that the vigilance of the police is equal in both areas and other conditions being the same, this would go to prove that urbanization leads to greater incidence of crime. Theft and criminal trespass were most popular

offences and 81 per cent were found guilty of these offences. This shows that poverty especially in the strange and impersonal atmosphere of cities leads people to crime.

The monthly average number of probationers in hand ranged from 1.6 at Aligarh to 44 at Lucknow; the case load of each probation officer every month was approximately 23.3. In regard to visits, on an average a Probation Officer met every probationer twice a month. This is too low a frequency of contacts. The number of Probation Officers should be increased and the Officers and probationers should have more contact.

Of the 288 preliminary enquiries made, only 35 per cent were recommended to be released on probation which shows that the success was also due to very careful selection. Thirty five per cent is too low. Larger number of well trained qualified Probation Officers will make it possible to place a larger percentage of offenders under probation. It is gratifying to note that the Government has issued orders suggesting to the magistrates to call for enquiries from Probation Officers in all cases of offenders below 24 years of age. Even though there are no juvenile courts, in many places all cases of first offenders below the age of 24 are tried by a particular Magistrate in the respective towns. But it is high time that juvenile courts be established to deal with the problem of Juvenile delinquency more thoroughly and effectively. A thorough training in the causes of crime, knowledge of the psychology of adolescents and children, general background knowledge of sociology, social psychology, social pathology and other allied subjects and acquaintance with the methods adopted in the treatment of Juvenile delinquents in other parts of India and in western countries are necessary for any person who deals with juveniles. Even in the U.S.A., where the treatment of delinquents is comparatively more on a scientific basis, most of the critical literature dealing with the problem fixes the cause of failure at one point, namely the lack of adequate training on the part of Probation Officers.

Most important of all it must be borne in mind that even the best trained Probation Officer in the world cannot succeed in re-establishing the young offender in the normal stream of community life unless the people of the community collaborate with him and with each other. Experts functioning in a community can succeed only when their experience is blended with the experience of the people with whom they labour. If then we really want Probation to succeed better than it has in the past, we need probation officers trained in a new way. The skill they need above all others is that of releasing the social forces of the local community. If they cannot do this, they cannot succeed no matter how much they know about criminology or individual psychology. We have to reorientate the attitude of the public towards crime espe-

cially among juveniles to a new and modern approach. Juvenile delinquents are the socially sick, and they are to be treated and not punished and probation officers are the social doctors who can cure and rehabilitate these sick persons.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY WOMEN'S COUNCIL

THE Women's Council has substantial work to its credit in this city and presidency, and has blazed the trail for the whole Council Movement in India. Through its efforts the National Council of Women in India was organized in 1925 and in the same year it was affiliated to the International Council of Women.

The Bombay Presidency Women's Council is one result of the war of 1914-18. The Women's Branch War & Relief Fund Association was organised to make and supply clothes and comforts for our soldiers at the various war fronts. The experience gained and co-operation achieved in the war work made them feel that some agency should be formed to continue the co-operative spirit and activity. So in 1919 the Bombay Presidency Women's Council was formed and "designed to act as a co-ordinating and directing body for all social and philanthropic work connected with women and children throughout the Presidency."

From the start, the Council was interested in the eradication of "Social Evils". In the first year it undertook the organizing of Famine Relief. In the second year it started an Employment Bureau. A Rescue Home for Indian Women was founded in the third year. Such activities characterised the work of the Council in the succeeding years. In the field of Education, Relief, Public Health, Labour and Cinema, the Council has been active. In the field of legislation, favouring the cause of women and children, the Council has been untiring and persistent in its efforts to help. It actively supported the passing of various bills such as the Sarda Marriage Act, the Girl Protection Bill, the Bill for Suppression of Dedication of Young Women to Temples and the Hindu Women's Inheritance Bill.

As usual, the Council has had a busy year of many-sided activities as is revealed by their Twenty-Third Annual Report of 1941. Through their various sub-committees, this Council has been rendering valuable services. Their Beggar Problem Sub-Committee has tried to tackle this age-old problem by talks with magic lantern slides, posters, interviewing and enlisting the interests of the Government and Municipal Officials and attempting to form a Beggar Relief Society. It seems, however, that these measures, no matter how well-intentioned, can hardly be fruitful of any results, for they seem to have no reference whatever to the social forces that produce beggars. This formidable profession of begging cannot be wiped out by laws and enactments

calculated to decorate the Statute Book.

We do have legislative enactments to prohibit begging. But the authorities are neither keen on enforcing it, nor are they able to enforce them in the absence of any well-organised agencies to take care of the beggars whom the police may arrest on the street. The appalling poverty of the rural areas, unemployment, the lack of stigma attached to begging, the time-old religiously sanctioned practice of indiscriminate almsgiving are the major causes of beggary. The able-bodied should be found work, and compelled to do it; the disabled and handicapped should be taken care of and the diseased should be segregated and cured. We have appointed committees, passed resolutions, agitated for long and have done enough propaganda. It is about time to start going.

Substantial and successful have been the activities of the Haj Sub-Committee, the Home Industries Depot Sub-Committee, the Rescue Home Sub-Committee, and the Labour Sub-Committee. The Literacy and Education Sub-Committee has carried on its important work as usual in spite of great financial handicap, and it is gratifying, though not very encouraging, to note that during the year 107 women passed their literacy tests. The Parliamentary Sub-Committee has expressed its definite views in reply to the Rau Committee Questionnaire on Hindu Law Reform insisting that the revised Law be passed on the principle of sex equality; that polygamous marriages should not be permitted and that the right to ask for dissolution of marriage and judicial separation under specified circumstances be given both to husband and wife.

In view of the splendid work done by the various sub-committees it is not surprising to note that their Twenty-Third Annual Meeting and Seventh Conference was attended by over 400 people and proved a great success. We hope the Council will keep up its high tradition and continue rendering such yeoman service in spite of the grave and distracting world situation.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BOMBAY PROVINCE

IF platform outcry and high-sounding generalities were enough to solve the manifold economic and social problems of India, we would have had no problems to be solved now. If the annual administration reports of the many Government Departments are to be accepted on their face value, then there is nothing much to be suggested by way of improvement. The Annual Administration Report of the Rural Development Department of the Province of Bombay for the year 1940-41 is such a one. The activities listed are many. Agricultural improvement by development of land, improved tillage methods, implements and manure, seed multiplication and distribution, co-operative protection, horticultural development, co-operative marketing, installing grain

depots, development of rural industries, communications, irrigation, public health and sanitation, education, general propaganda and training centres for rural assistants—all these are there. Can a wider range of programme for rural development be ever drawn up? Well, no. But what are the achievements? Of course, much. But then success of rural development is to be measured in reference to rural areas rather than the amount of manure distributed or the number of pigs killed etc. In the first place, we would have liked to have a report describing the activities around area units rather than one where the activities of different sections of the department are narrated. The District, Taluka and Village are the area units and they are the areas to be developed. It was with such a view that in 1939 the Co-operative Department was organized into the Co-operative and Rural Development Department—a single administrative unit with a single main purpose. But the Report says that it did not prove successful “as it resulted in officers, who are experts in their own line, having to devote much of their time to duties for which they had no adequate training and of which they had no adequate knowledge.” That is to say, the rural development programme had to be such as to fit the staff and not *vice versa*. If at all this rural development is to gain momentum and be a really constructive, creative force in India, we have to develop it into a strong, well-integrated and self-sufficient unit with enough resources of qualified men and money.

The financial report reveals again another story. Of the Rs. 3,46,339/- of expenditure, Grants-in-Aid amounted to Rs. 1,66,909/- or 48%; pay of establishment, allowances and honoraria, Rs. 1,01,430/- or 30%, contingencies Rs. 39,868/- or 11%, and works Rs. 38,882/- or 11%. Here again it is the same story—“Rolls Royce administration” in the “bullock-cart” villages. It is to be supposed that a large proportion of the amount designated as grants also go for administrative staff. It will not be far amiss to say that nearly 50% of the amount is spent on a top heavy administration. It seems that it is a case of urban employment at the expense of rural development. If India is 90% rural, the major emphasis should be on rural development. But we have built up an urbanised capitalistic system and administration at the expense and to the neglect of rural areas. It is about time that we paid more attention to rural development and revitalized the old social units of villages, and made them real self-governing, increasingly self-sufficient economic units. But such a thing can be achieved only when and if we change the entire approach to the problem.

RECLAMATION OF ABORIGINAL TRIBES

AN interesting and so far encouraging experiment is being conducted by the Kolaba District Rural Development Board to reclaim to civilization the aboriginal tribes of Katkaris.

According to the last census, the Katkari population in the district was a little over 40,000. They are a jungle tribe, living in what are called the "in-forest" settlements. They maintain themselves mostly on earnings as labourers and supplement these by collecting and selling forest produce and by cultivating lands assigned to them within the forests. These lands, called *dali* lands, cover an area of about 28,000 acres and are held on what amounts to a permanent tenure subject to certain conditions.

146 Katkaris, comprising 22 families have been settled in a colony at Chikni in Roha Taluka of the district. There they are given practical lessons in the art of civilised living, beginning with the knowledge of growing rice. The total area assigned to the Chikni settlement is about 56 acres. Development of the *dali* land was the first of the series of improvements. 3 acres were developed for paddy cultivation; the good crop and the taste of rice have made the settlers keen on having more of paddy cultivation.

The next most important problem is housing. Huts of the settlers are little more than a patch-work of grass and bamboos, and are overcrowded. The Board has laid out 30 building plots providing sites also for a school temple and village square with 30 ft. wide roads. The settlers are being taught the value of sanitation. There is a "spring cleaning" every week and the refuse is conserved in a pit to ripen into valuable compost manure.

Education, it is realised by the Board, is the basis of all improvement. So efforts are being made to educate the "young hopefuls". After very great and strenuous efforts, 14 children are attending a primary school at Negothana. Shirts and shorts are supplied free to every child attending school. As the Negothana school is two miles away from the settlement, the children find it difficult to walk all the way back and forth. Hence, it is proposed to establish a grant-in-aid school in the settlement itself.

During the last monsoon 31 *maunds* of paddy were distributed among the settlers for maintenance to be repaid at the next harvesting and the entire advance has been repaid. A bin to store corn, a *topela* for cooking food for festival parties and *tals* for *Bhajans* have been donated by Mr. P. J. Gandhi. Quality mango grafts and poultry were supplied free to the settlers. The Board has donated to the settlers a pair of buffaloes. A new well has been budgeted for. The whole scheme is still in its infancy and will require continual supervision, guidance and care for many years to come before it can

make an appreciable impression on the life of the settlers.

Reclamation of aborigines is a two-way process:—introducing civilisation into their midst and introducing them to civilization. Changes in patterns of living have to be introduced to them with caution to make them realise the advantages and necessity for the change. Colonisation in complete segregation does not help in the thorough reclamation. They have to have contact with the better side of the outside civilization, and it is best to give such opportunities when they are young and at school. The continuance of the settlers' children at the village school is to be preferred to the idea of having a separate school for the children of the settlers at the settlement itself. Conveyance may be provided to take these children to the village school. Such contacts of children in the school will be advantageous to both sections of the school children. Reclamation is effective when they are young and the fundamental basis of reclamation is to treat them as equal and normal just like others. Paternalism and imposition of alien ideas and ways of living should always be scrupulously guarded against.

All those interested in the reclamation of the backward tribes will watch this experiment with interest in the hope that in due course of time what is being done for the 146 Katkari settlers will be done for all the 40,000 of them and for other aborigines in other parts of India. Let us also hope that they will not graduate into the type of civilized life and attitude the ravages of which we are witnessing in the "civilized" world today.

BOMBAY CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY

BOMBAY can boast of a Children's Act, a Borstal School Act, a Juvenile Court, and a Children's Aid Society which has under its supervision and management a Remand Home, an Industrial School and a very modern scheme of rehabilitation of juveniles at the Chembur Home. Almost all the Probation Officers of the Society are well trained. The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Society for the year 1941-42 makes interesting reading, as it gives in detail the activities of the Society. There is no denying the fact that many of them are really commendable.

But certain aspects of the treatment of juveniles deserve attention. Of the total 1,817 new cases admitted during the year 1,538 are boys and 279 girls. In the classification of charges made against them, we find that 770 children (637 boys and 133 girls) were brought in on the charges of destitution, wandering or being without guardian, living in brothels or being in moral danger. 195 children (83 boys and 112 girls) were victims of abusive treatment at the hands of elders, strangers etc. Only 852 children (818 boys and 34 girls) were cases against whom there were charges of delinquency. That

means 965 or 53 per cent of the children are not delinquents as such. Destitution, we admit, is one of the major causes of delinquency. Organising children's homes as a hold-all for all kinds of children merely because they are children is not scientific. Having the delinquents and destitutes in the same institution and treating them alike is unreasonable and unjust. There is not much to be corrected in the destitutes excepting giving them a chance by improving their economic status. Arrangements should, therefore be made to separate the destitute from the delinquent lest the former by association with the latter take to their undesirable ways of behaviour in due course.

In regard to probation, we notice that the average number of children under the supervision of the Probation Officer ranges from 30 to 52 which is a bit too high a case-load; for treatment of delinquency through probation is successful only to the degree of efficient case-work and frequency of personal contact between the child and the Officer.

The Children's Home at Chembur is a novel institution in India, and the separate home for the mentally deficient children at Chembur is a worthy innovation. The basic principle on which the Children's Home is organised is sound. The environment and set up are excellent. The new 'farm colony' scheme is sure to be of much help in the retraining of the delinquent children. The Chembur Home in theory corresponds to Father Flannagen's "Boys Town" in America. We should expect the children to be extremely happy there. Being denied a happy home, loving and understanding parents, healthy group life with friends, good play centres etc., they are the victims of unfortunate social circumstances. But, though they are given or supposed to be given a home with all the necessary elements of a healthy environment, we find from the Report that out of 586 children, 104 absconded during the year. If 20% of the children sent to the Home abscond, then there must be something radically wrong somewhere. We hope the authorities will pay special attention to remedying this situation and make Chembur a model institution as it is the only one of its kind in India at present.

The finances of the Society are not at all in an enviable condition. The year under review ended up with a deficit of Rs. 16,115/-. The total receipts amounted to Rs. 1,42,079/- of which Government grant-in-aid was Rs. 1,15,000 and donations and subscriptions Rs. 4,940/-. The justification for the existence of a private social service agency, such as the Children's Aid Society, is that it escapes the impersonality of Government agencies and also becomes a matter of voluntary interest and concern of the public. The meagre sum of about Rs. 5,000/- donated and subscribed to it reveals a sorry state of affairs. If only 3% of the expenditure is raised by the efforts of the non-official body and all the rest is coming from public treasury, then is there any justification for its

management by a private body ? It is time the Society exerted itself to raise more funds. Such an effort will greatly stimulate public interest in the care and training of these unfortunate children.

In the matter of general policy of treatment of juveniles we are at a loss to know why this department and the Certified Schools are under the Backward Class Officer. The very set up implies that we have not yet the correct attitude towards the problem of juvenile delinquency. We dare say that it ought to be tackled as an educational problem, and brought under the Department of Education.

TATA GRADUATE SCHOOL ALUMNI

Class of '38

<i>Name</i>	<i>Employment</i>
1. Barnabas, John, B.A., Lucknow University, 1936. Bombay.	Organizing Secretary, Social Service League, Lucknow, U. P.
2. Bhatt, Mrs. Indira U. (Nee Mehta, Miss Indira S.) B.Sc., Bombay University, 1936. Ahmedabad, Gujarat.	Married.
3. Bhatt, Vamanrai A., B.Ag., Bombay University, 1935. Bhavnagar, Kathiawar.	Formerly Research Worker of the All India Harijan Sewak Sangh, New Delhi.
4. Dave, Shankarlal S., B.A., Bombay University, 1934. Vaso, Baroda State.	Assistant Welfare Organizer, Bombay Municipality, Bombay.
5. Dongre, Mrs. Kamla R. (Nee Rangi Lal, Miss Kamla), B.A., Punjab University, 1936. Ludhiana, Punjab.	Probation Officer, Children's Aid Society, Umarkhadi, Bombay.
6. Edward, Thomas, B.A., Madras University, 1930. Sholapur, Bombay Province.	Labour Officer, Khatau Makanji Mills, Bombay.
7. Irani, Mrs. Freny (Nee Soonavala, Miss Freny) B.A., Bombay University, 1932, LL.B., ,, ,, 1934. Bombay.	Welfare Organizer, Bombay Municipality, Bombay.
8. Kulkarni, Dattatreya V., B.A., Nagpur University, 1933, M.A., ,, ,, 1935. Nagpur, C.P.	Superintendent, Industrial School, Yeravda, Poona.
9. Mehkri, Gulam M., B.A., Mysore University, 1935. Bangalore, Mysore.	Research Student, Bombay University, Bombay.
10. Nageswaran, S., B.Sc., Madras University, 1934. Madura, Madras Province.	Inspector of Mills and Labour Officer, Indian Jute Mills Association, Calcutta.

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| 11. Patel, Ranchhodbhai C.,
B.A., Bombay University, 1936.
Baroda. | Formerly Probation Officer,
District After-Care Association,
Surat. |
| 12. Ram, Ernest J.S.,
B.A., Agra University, 1933,
Y.M.C.A. College of Physical ,
Education, Madras.
Nasirabad, Rajputana. | Labour Welfare Officer,
Government of Bombay,
Bombay. |
| 13. Renu, Mrs. Indira
(Nee Bellimal, Miss Indira)
B.A., Madras University, 1934,
B.T., Mysore University, 1936.
Bangalore, Mysore. | Psychiatric Social Worker,
Child Guidance Clinic,
Tata Graduate School of Social
Work, Bombay. |
| 14. Sahni, Sikandar Lal,
B.A., Punjab University, 1936.
Bhera, Punjab. | Labour Officer,
Swadeshi Mills,
Kurla, Bombay. |
| 15. Seervai, Mrs. G. B.,
(Non-diploma student)
Bombay. | Joint Hon. Secretary,
Society for the Protection of
Children in Western India,
Matunga, Bombay. |
| 16. Shukla, Mrs. Manjula
(Nee Mehta, Miss Manjula)
B.A., Bombay University, 1935.
Ahmedabad, Gujarat. | Married. |
| 17. Thozhuth, Kochavara L.,
B.A., Madras University, 1934.
Irinjalakuda, Cochin. | Probation Officer,
Children's Aid Society,
Bombay. |
| 18. Velayudhan, Cherukatt K.,
B.A., Madras University, 1932.
Ernakulam, Cochin. | Formerly Rural Worker,
Rural Development Centre,
Cherpu, Cochin. |

Class of '40

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| 19. Anantanarayanan, P.S.,
B.Sc., Madras University, 1934.
Palghat, Madras. | Labour Statistitian with the Tata Oil
Mills, Co., Ltd.,
Bombay House, Bombay. |
| 20. Doraiswamy, Miss Kokila,
B.A., Madras University, 1937.
Mylapore, Madras. | Secretary,
Children's Aid Society,
Madras. |
| 21. Goel, Om Prakash,
B.A.; Agra University, 1936.
Meerut, U. P. | Superintendent,
The Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Home,
Matunga, Bombay. |

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| 22. Golwala, Kaikobad B.
B.A., Bombay University, 1934.
Karachi, Sind. | Superintendent,
Sir C. J. Colony & Sir Ratan Tata
Welfare Centre, Tardeo, Bombay. |
| 23. Gopala Rao, G. K.,
B.Sc., Mysore University, 1935.
Gudibanda, Mysore. | Assistant Welfare Officer,
Mysore Iron and Steel Works,
' Bhadrawadi, Mysore. |
| 24. Gurbuxani, Bhagchand D.
B.A., Bombay University, 1933.
Hyderabad, Sind. | Superintendent, The Indian Institute
Reinforcement Camp,
(Indian Wing),
Colaba, Bombay. |
| 25. Harshe, Govind N.,
B.A., Bombay University, 1936.
Poona, Bombay Province. | Assistant Inspector of Certified
Schools, Backward Class Office,
Poona. |
| 26. Kin, Ba,
(Non-Diploma Student)
Pegyet, Myingyan, Burma. | Rural Worker,
Rangoon, Burma. |
| 27. Ladli Nath Renu,
B.A., Allahabad University, 1934,
M.A., ,, ,, 1936.
Meerut, U.P. | Probation Officer,
Children's Aid Society,
Umarchadi, Bombay. |
| 28. Limaye, Gopal A.
(Non-diploma student)
Bombay. | Probation Officer,
The Bombay Presidency Released
Prisoners' Aid Society, Bombay. |
| 29. Paul, Cherayath L.,
B.A., Madras University, 1935.
Ernakulam, Cochin. | Assistant Labour Welfare Officer,
Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd.,
Jamshedpur. |
| 30. Rao, Pednekar R.,
B.A., Mysore University, 1932.
Bombay. | Superintendent,
Labour Welfare Centre,
Naigaum, Bombay. |
| 31. Sher Singh,
B.A., Agra University, 1935,
M.A., ,, ,, 1937.
Meerut, U.P. | Superintendent,
Sheppard After-Care Home,
Mahim, Bombay. |
| 32. Shikhare, Vasant P.,
B.A., Bombay University, 1935.
Poona, Bombay Province. | Probation Officer,
District After-Care Association,
Ahmednagar. |
| 33. Sidhu, Miss Rajinder Kaur,
B.A., Punjab University, 1937.
Bhasone, Patiala State. | Chief Probation Officer & Superin-
tendent, Remand Home,
Children's Aid Society, Bombay. |

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| 34. Singh, Wilfred,
B.A., Agra University, 1933.
Indore, Central India. | Probation Officer,
Children's Aid Society,
Umarchadi, Bombay. |
| 35. Velayudhan, R.,
B.A., Madras University, 1937.
Trivandrum, Travancore. | Labour Officer,
Tata Oil Mills Co., Ltd.,
Tatapuram, Cochin. |

Class of '42

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| 36. Appalaswamy, Miss G.Kantarathnam,
B.A., Madras University, 1931.
Hyderabad, Deccan. | Welfare Organizer,
Hyderabad Municipality,
Hyderabad, Deccan. |
| 37. Bhawe, Jagannath Vasudeo,
B.A., Nagpur University, 1937.
Nagpur, C P. | Labour Officer,
Tata Oil Mills Co., Ltd.,
Sewri, Bombay. |
| 38. Desai, Miss Aloo F.,
B.A., Bombay University, 1937.
Bombay. | Family Case Worker,
Parsi Punchayat Funds and
Properties, Bombay. |
| 39. Desai, Navinchandra Ambelal,
B.A., Bombay University, 1936,
LL.B., ,, ,, 1940.
Surat District, Bombay Province. | Labour Welfare Officer,
Pioneer Magnesia Works Ltd.,
Kharagoda, Bombay. |
| 40. Dighe, Kamalakar Ganpat,
(Non-diploma student)
Bombay. | Probation Officer,
Children's Aid Society,
Umarchadi, Bombay. |
| 41. Girdhari Lal,
B.A., Agra University, 1940.
Meerut, U.P. | Assistant Superintendent,
The Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Home,
Matunga, Bombay. |
| 42. Gupta, Jagdish Prasad,
B.A., Agra University, 1933,
LL.B., ,, ,, 1935.
Meerut, U.P. | Organizing Probation Officer,
Children's Aid Society,
Lahore, Punjab. |
| 43. Kulkarni, Miss Leela J.,
B.A., Bombay University, 1939.
Bombay. | Probation Officer (Acting),
Children's Aid Society,
Bombay. |
| 44. Mahajan, Yeshwant Dattatraya,
B.A., Bombay University, 1938.
Poona, Bombay Province. | Senior Probation Officer,
District After-Care Association,
Poona. |
| 45. Mampilly, Cherian Joseph,
B.A., Madras University, 1937.
Narakkal, Cochin. | Superintendent,
Labour Welfare Centre,
Worli, Bombay. |

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| 46. Modi, Miss Maki, S.H.,
B.A., Bombay University, 1940.
Bombay. | Family Case Worker,
Parsi Panchayat Fund and
Properties, Bombay. |
| 47. Nagaraj, Akkihebal Gopalaiah,
B.Sc., Mysore University, 1938.
Mysore State. | Sanchalak,
Vikasa-Griha,
Ahmedabad. |
| 48. Naik, Miss Keshar Baburao,
B.A., Bombay University, 1940.
Junagadh, Kathiawar. | Lady Superintendent,
Women's Welfare Training Camp,
Fyzabad, U.P. |
| 49. Nanda, Dalip Chand,
B.Sc., Punjab University, 1938.
Eminabad, Punjab. | Probation Officer (Acting),
Children's Aid Society,
Umarmkhadi, Bombay. |
| 50. Patil, William David G.,
B.A., Bombay University, 1939.
Belgaum, Bombay Province. | Probation Officer,
District After-Care Association,
Sholapur. |
| 51. Sukhnandan, Mrs. Lily James,
B.A., Lucknow University, 1931.
Bilaspur, C.P. | Teacher,
Mission School,
Jubbulpore, C.P. |

OUR NEW STUDENTS

Class of '44

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| 1. Miss Gauri Rani Banerjee,
B.A. (Hons.), Calcutta, 1936,
M.A., Benares University, 1938.
Saharanpur, U.P. | 5. Miss Pervin N. Cabinetmaker,
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay, 1940.
Bombay City. |
| 2. Miss Vatsala B. Bhaskare,
B.A., Bombay University, 1942.
Bombay City. | 6. Miss Sophia S. Corley,
(Non-diploma Student),
Bombay City. |
| 3. Mrs. Harbala D. Bhatt,
(Non-diploma Student)
Bhavnagar, Kathiawar. | 7. Mr. Shanti Swaroop Dhingra,
B.A. (Hon.), Punjab, 1938,
M.A., Nagpur University, 1940.
Lahore, Punjab. |
| 4. Mr. Balwant W. Bijapurkar,
B.A., Bombay University, 1938,
Diploma in Physical Education,
Kandivli, 1939.
Pachora, East Khandesh,
Bombay Province. | 8. Mr. Lalechand A. Gagliani,
B.A., Visva-Bharati, 1942.
Rajkot, Kathiawar. |
| | 9. Mr. A. B. Jogalkar,
B.A., Nagpur University, 1940.
Rahata, District Ahmednagar, |

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| <p>10. Mrs. G. N. Joshi,
B.A., Nagpur University, 1933.
Bombay City.</p> <p>11. Mr. Moreswar M. Joshi,
B.A., Bombay University, 1938,
M.A., ,, ,, 1942.,
Poona, Bombay Province.</p> <p>12. Mr. Someshwar P. Joshi,
B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University, 1942.
Ahmedabad, Gujarat.</p> <p>13. Mr. Noshir F. Kaikobad,
B.A., Bombay University, 1942.
Surat, Bombay Province.</p> <p>14. Mr. P. R. Khandekar,
B.A., Nagpur University, 1932,
LL.B., ,, ,, 1936.
Nagpur, C.P.</p> <p>15. Miss Shirin F. Merchant,
(Non-diploma Student)
Bombay City.</p> <p>16. Miss Khorshed J. Motivala,
B.A., Bombay University, 1941.
Bombay City.</p> <p>17. Mr. Jal B. Nagarwalla,
B.A., Bombay University, 1942.
Ahmednagar, Bombay Province.</p> <p>18. Miss Saroj V. Patel,
G.A., S.N.D.T. Indian Women's
University, 1941.
Ahmednagar, Gujarat.</p> | <p>19. Miss Vitha Shankerrao Pupala,
B.A., Bombay University, 1942.
Bombay City.</p> <p>20. Miss Lakshmy Ranga Iyer,
B.A., Lucknow University, 1942.
Bangalore, Mysore.</p> <p>21. Mr. Rasiklal Bapulal Shah,
B.A., Visva-Bharati, 1942.
Bombay City.</p> <p>22. Mr. Pesi E. Shroff,
B.Sc., Bombay University, 1939.
Bombay City.</p> <p>23. Miss Rajinder Kaur Sidhu,
B.A., Punjab University, 1939,
M.A., ,, ,, 1942.
Model Town, Punjab.</p> <p>24. Miss Dhun M. Taraporevala,
(Non-diploma Student)
Bombay City.</p> <p>25. Miss Shakuntala P. Vora,
G.A., S.N.D.T. Indian Women's
University, 1941.
Bombay City.</p> <p>26. Miss C. Sylvi Zachariah,
B.A. (Hons.), Travancore University, 1941.
Nagereoil, Travancore State.</p> |
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BOOK REVIEWS

Dand Shastra. BY PRAKASH NARAIN SAKSENA. The U.P. Discharged Prisoner's Aid Society, Lucknow, 1942. Pp. 278. Re. 1-4.

This book is the outcome of a study undertaken by the author as a result of the announcement by the Prisoner's Aid Society U. P. of a prize for the best book on the subject of crime. It is, as Mr. Gopinath Srivastava, President of the U.P. Prisoner's Aid Society, puts it, an attempt on the part of Mr. Saksena to put before the average reader some new material about criminology in vernacular in a very simple form which every one can understand. It is, perhaps, a pioneer attempt, as literature of this type in the vernacular is practically non-existent. The author has attempted to include a variety of subjects such as Punishment, the History of Jails, Prison Administration, the Delinquent Child, Reformatory Schools, Youthful Offenders and Borstal System, the Civil Prisoners, the Habituals, the Criminal Tribes, Probation and Parole, Indeterminate Sentence and Aid to the Released Prisoners. The subjects being so varied, one cannot expect Mr. Saksena to do justice to them in a book of 277 pages. To put it briefly, Mr. Saksena's attempt at best can be described to be a combination of pamphlets on the above mentioned subjects. The name of the book gives one the impression that it covers a wide range and suggests that it is an authoritative scientific treatise. The contents, however, reveal that the work is elementary and references are mostly confined to conditions in U.P. Jails. The book contains some useful material about the prisons in U.P., and the author has made at many places practical suggestions for introducing progressive ideas.

The chapters on the History of Jails (pp. 40-53) deal with the Jails of America and England, and give practically negligible information about the Jails in India. Here was a chance for the author to collect interesting information for Indian readers and this has not been done. Nevertheless the chapters on Youthful Offenders and Reformatory Schools provide interesting reading and the author has tried to educate the average reader about the causes of juvenile delinquency. An attempt has also been made to bring home to the average Indian reader the new conceptions in child psychology and crime. The book will prove very useful layman, and can also be studied with advantage by prison administrators to the and police officials whose knowledge about the new conceptions in crime and child psychology is deplorably inadequate. At least the subordinate staff of Jails and Police Departments in the United Province can

avail themselves of this opportunity of acquiring useful information through their mother-tongue.

G. P. GOEL

A New Social Order. By EDDY ASIRVATHAM. Foreword by the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI. Madras: Indian Christian Book Club, 1942. Pp. 386. For Club Members, Paper—Rs. 2/8/-; Calico—Rs. 3/-; others, Paper—Rs. 3/-; Calico—Rs. 3/8/-.

The nature of modern warfare is such as to raise the question whether its total social destructiveness is not greater than any benefits that can possibly be achieved by it. Whatever any war may have done for progress in the past, it is more or less certain that the universal war of modern times, both in its extent and in its nature, is humanity committing suicide. It means that all the intellectual gains and all the moral advance of the race are turned to its destruction, the one to achieve and the other to justify the ends for which the struggle is waged. "The age in which we are living" says the author of the book under review, is an age of crisis. Major wars are being fought on three continents; and the other two continents have been drawn into the whirlpool. The whole world is in a chaotic condition. Economic and social conditions are not what they should be. Capital is pitted against labour, and the landlord against the peasant. Between the various social classes, racial groups and religious communities, there is not much love lost."

It is no wonder, therefore, if there is a widespread dissatisfaction with the world order as it exists. Some solution has to be found for the excesses of poverty, inequality and insecurity. The resources of the world should be preserved and utilized in such a manner as to promote the well-being of every individual and nation. Each person should receive that reward which will enable him to be at his best and at the same time render the maximum possible service to society. Dr. Asirvatham's object in writing this book is to rouse interest in some of our present-day social, economic and political problems, particularly as they apply to India.

We have reached the stage of social development where mutual aid and economic cooperation on a world scale is possible, as the economic organization of the allied nations in the war amply proves. While most of the intellect in the world of privilege is engaged upon plans to stabilize the old order, its very basis is being undermined by the dynamic force of the working principle of the new order, the principle of mutual service. The signs of a new order are to be discovered not in the bargainings of the older statesmen but in the yearnings and strivings of the common folk.

The present situation in which the world finds itself requires not merely

repairs and reforms but a basic change in economic and political organization, involving a still deeper change in the moral and spiritual foundations of life. The evils the author notes and the reforms he advocates in this book are arranged logically, based upon the four fundamental principles: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and Bread. These naturally lead to chapters on Economic Justice, Social Harmony—caste, class, communalism and race, Political Justice—democracy, nationalism and imperialism, and then a supplementary group covering such problems as Peace, The Family, Leisure and Education.

The book is very wide in its scope and nothing is omitted that has any bearing on the issues discussed. It holds the attention of the reader as the events that are happening around us today are drawn upon for illustration, and their significance in the framing of the New order is convincingly set forth. In the treatment of these problems, Dr. Asirvatham does not concern himself with theory. His concern is with the moral judgments which are presupposed by any economic or social policy. And what he says on them is clear, pertinent and plain spoken. His belief is that any man who accepts the Christian Ethics, or the broadly similar ethics of all decent modern men, must be an internationalist, a democrat, an equalitarian and a socialist.

Though one may not agree with all the views expressed by the author, it is a book worth reading. In magnitude, nature and consequences, one of the greatest changes in human history is now occurring, involving all humanity and all the institutions and customs of society. Common people everywhere are seeking a way to live together so that the nations may never again be drawn into war, so that there shall be freedom and development for all peoples. This means changing the political status of the subject peoples and the social status of the working class, and such changes would make a new order in a very vital sense.

Social progress is fundamentally a moral and spiritual process. It proceeds from conduct that is purely instinctive to conduct that is the result of a reasoned choice of ends and of the means to attain them. Hitherto in its social conduct, mankind has mainly followed the line of least resistance. Its choice of ends and of means has been largely determined by immediate self-interest. The way out of the present chaos is to follow another motive than self-interest, to enlarge the power of the urge for mutual aid. The new order implies a conscious choice of the highest, most difficult end of human life. Its goal must be the unfolding of personality; its form the democratic cooperation in all aspects of life. It means changing in vital respects the whole manner of doing the work of the world and of living together. To all those interested in such a post-war reconstruction, this volume provides ample food for thought.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

India and a New Civilization. By RAJANI KANTA DAS. Calcutta: Prabasi Press, 1942. Pp. 320. Indian Rs. 3; foreign 5 sh.

According to the author, *India and a New Civilization* is a preliminary study in the origin, growth, nature, problem and significance of a new civilization which has been growing in India since the beginning of the 19th century. It formed the basis of the Sir Sayajirao Gaekwar Prize Lectures given by Dr. Das in October, 1940 at Baroda. In this book the author's main object is to prove, first of all, that out of the fusion of cultural traits of three great civilizations, Hindu, Muslim and Western, as well as the rise of new social values, ideals and aims, and of the Renaissance and social movements, there has been growing in India a new civilization; secondly, that India has all the necessary factors, such as physical backgrounds, ethical qualities and cultural heritages, to develop this new civilization into a great intellectual, moral and spiritual force for the benefit of her own people as well as of the world at large; and finally, that it is only such a strong, bold, and noble idealism of creating a new civilization which can awaken, inspire and energize her rapidly growing intellectual classes and starving, ignorant and inert masses into vigorous social, political and industrial activities and unite them into one social whole in the face of the rising tides of communalism, provincialism and separatism.

The urgent need for a great creative effort on our part to make the world, which has become a neighbourhood, into a brotherhood has become quite apparent in the present world conflict. It is manifest that unless some unity of purpose can be achieved in the world, unless the ever more violent and disastrous incidence of war can be averted, unless some common control can be imposed on the headlong waste of man's limited inheritance that is now going on, the history of humanity must presently culminate in some sort of disaster, repeating and exaggerating the disaster which is caused by modern warfare, producing chaotic social conditions, and going on thereafter in a degenerative process towards extinction. So much all reasonable men seem now prepared to admit.

But upon the question of how and in what form a unity of purpose and a common control of human affairs is to be established, there is still a great and lamentable diversity of opinion. It has therefore become necessary for us to examine our own civilization to see if India can make a contribution to a better world organization. It is in this respect that Dr. Das' book is valuable as it brings out the idealism in our civilization which is capable of creating a world brotherhood. The author approaches the subject from different view points. In the First Part he gives a rough and brief analysis of the historical development, the main cultural traits and the contributions of the

three fusing civilizations. In the Second Part, one finds a historical survey of the Indian Renaissance and other social movements—the religious, reform, educational, industrial and political—and a brief outline of the social processes through which the new civilization has been developing from the beginning of the 19th century. Finally, there is a discussion of demographic, political, industrial and sociological approaches to, the solution of the various problems involved in the achievement of the new cultural values, ideals and aims.

The social, political and economic forces in the world during the past two centuries or more have brought Eastern and Western civilizations close together and created possibilities for the integration and co-ordination of divergent, but mutually complementary, cultural traits, such as objective and subjective views of life, material success and moral achievement, and untiring activities and sober contemplation. The synthesis of these cultural traits will give us a scientific civilization which India is called upon to create and develop not only for the world's benefit but also for her own salvation.

The task of bringing about a consolidated world state, which is necessary to prevent the decline and decay of mankind, is not primarily one for the diplomats, statesmen and politicians at all. It is an educational one since it is based on an intellectual reconstruction. The task immediately before mankind is to find release from the contentious loyalties, racial hatreds, old political beliefs and economic theories which make collective world-wide action impossible at the present time, through a new vision of the history and destiny of mankind. On that as a basis, and that alone, can a new world order be organized and maintained. The effort demanded from all thoughtful people, therefore, is primarily and essentially a bold reconstruction of outlook upon life of hundreds of millions of minds. The idea of a world commonweal should dominate everywhere in the world.

In this age of international strife, India must offer to the world her philosophy of life, of peace, based on her conception of the spiritual unity of all human beings. It is essential to make the best in our culture available first to the children of the soil. Every Indian should know something of his own heritage, his country's civilization and its abiding values. Dr. Das' book is timely. The whole volume is interestingly arranged, the style is simple and direct, and the aim is definitely constructive and patriotic. All those interested not only in the progress and future of India but also in what contribution India can make to the reorganization of the world order will find this book valuable and useful.

A Bibliography of Mental Tests and Rating Scales. By GERTRUDE H. HILDRETH, New York : The Psychological Corporation, Second Edition, 1939. Rs. 13/-.

In this priceless volume Dr. Hildreth has endeavoured to bring forth the treasures of a mine rich in the efforts of man to study and measure human capacity and behaviour. Mental measurement has literally invaded almost every field of human activity, ranging from the measurement of capacities of infants a few weeks old to give attention, to smile, to vocalize, to co-ordinate their movements, and the scholastic and performance abilities of school and college students, to character and personality studies, studies of musical and other artistic talents, mechanical and vocational aptitude tests, neurotic inventories and tests for farmers, tinkers, tailors, blacksmiths, tin-smiths, aviators, ship's captains, nurses, doctors, lawyers and tests of moral, social and economic judgments.

Dr. Hildreth has made an invaluable contribution to this field by undertaking the prodigious task of preparing a bibliography which spans fifty years in the development and methods of observing and measuring mental and personality traits, particularly in view of the phenomenal progress of psychological experimentation and application of scientific principles to education in recent years.

Such a bibliography is more than a mere list of books in a certain field. It is a history of the measurement movement and of the various roles that different individuals, institutions, countries and cultures have played in their efforts to study human behaviour. It reveals how the rapid increase in the number and variety of available tests and scales has brought about evaluation and criticism of measurement methods, greater refinement in testing procedures and continued evaluation of results. It bears testimony to the advances that have been made in the development of child guidance techniques; in the study of abnormal and psychotic individuals, delinquent trends and behaviour problems; in the rating and measurement of aesthetic abilities and achievement, physical fitness, athletic skill as well as speech. Although 4,279 tests are listed under main headings, if we were to consider those listed as sub-sections the number might well amount to 5,000.

It is not the prolific production, however, but the variety of tests that mark the growing interest in education and vocational guidance and personality study and adjustment. There are tests for the policeman, the clergyman; the patrolman, the chemist, the electrician, the janitor, the storekeeper, the rodman, the paper bag-maker, the plumber, the housekeeper, the dietician, the statistician, the laundryman, the cook, the baker, the painter and the sweeper.

These are selected at random merely to give an idea of the industry and perseverance of psychological investigators. And it is in the art of selection,

classification and completeness that Dr. Hildreth after years of painstaking work has made a real and lasting contribution. This book ought to be on the permanent reference shelf not only of psychologists and other workers in allied fields, but of all individuals interested in the study of human learning and behaviour.

K. H. CAMA

Happy Marriage. By DR. NORMAN HIMES. London : George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1941. Pp. 368. 12s. 6d.

This English edition of Dr. Himes' American book, *Your Marriage : A Guide to Happiness*, is by no means just another addition to the already profuse literature on sex as the title of the book might suggest. Nor is it just an extension, of the "What every girl (and boy) should know" series. Nor yet is it one of those popular books on sexual education with the excessive sentimentality and scientific inaccuracy of the crack-pot sex reformer. This book is one of the best products of the sociologist's venture into the field of pre-marital and marital problems. It deals not only with the usual topics of books of this kind such as "Sexual Adjustment and the Art of Love", "Birth Control Methods", "Sex Life in Marriage", "How to Prevent Venereal Infections", "Pre-marriage Sex Relations", "Sex Problems of Modern Young People", but also with such matters of sociological and psychological importance as "Should Wives Work?", "Shall We Buy, Build, or Lease a House?", "Getting Your Money's Worth", "Why be Fooled on Life Insurance?", "The Art of Getting Along Together", "Testing Conjugal Happiness" and many other such issues. In short, it takes in the whole gamut of questions which trouble unmarried youth as well as newly married couples.

A great many books on marriage overemphasize the sex factor to the exclusion of economic and psychological (personality) factors, but this book views with equal correctness the economic, sexual, social and psychological factors. A broad social point of view underlies every phase of the discussion while the author's advice on sex strikes a new level of frankness free from fatuity and the prudish, evasive ambiguity and circumlocutions typical of this sort of literature.

"Many of our present day problems persist" says the author, "because we are unwilling to adjust our social institutions to the elementary requirements of human existence. We do not start with human needs; we start rather with the *mores*, with established customs, and attempt to put human nature in a strait-jacket, the rigidity of which is sanctified by our ignorance and our moral traditions. We expect human nature to do all the bending and modifying. Why not make some changes in social institutions?"

Nevertheless, the author does not presume that sex is the exclusive interest of youth. He gives pertinent and practical advice on economics and consumers' problems that will prove of invaluable help to those who must meet new situations unprepared. He believes that happiness depends on the personality of the mating partners and, in support of this belief, he gives personality tests based on scientific experiments made in America, from which the "happiness scores" of a couple may be obtained. One is inclined to feel that these constitute the weakest chapters of the book. They are plainly indicative of the love of the American to measure and standardize everything. Whether such an indefinable thing as happiness can be measured by the so-called marital prediction tests is a debatable point. Such quantitative studies of primarily qualitative values require much more careful and critical analysis before they can be handed on to the lay reader who is inclined to accept them indiscriminately and then be disillusioned if his castle of happiness based on these tests topples down. Whatever one might say of this measurement aspect, the book will undoubtedly prove immensely helpful to every young person who reads it, for it gives sound practical advice on almost every aspect of marriage from a sane scientific, sociological point of view.

K. H. CAMA

The Promised Day is Come. BY SHOGHI EFFENDI. Bombay: The Times of India Press, 1942. Pp. 177 (including the Supplement). Rs. 5/-.

In this hour of destruction, despair and misery when the entire world seems to have lost its equilibrium, people have started wondering if humanity will ever get out of this mess, and in their efforts to probe into the cause of this chaos and confusion, have striven to frame schemes of social, economic and political reconstruction. Some statesmen with blurred and limited vision think that an Atlantic Charter or a Pacific or Asiatic Charter will bring peace and harmony to the world. Others, with a wider and more universal outlook, are visioning a world order with a commonwealth of nations or federated states of the world. There are still others, more spiritually and mystically inclined, who look forward to a new world order of divine origin that will heal the wounds of bleeding humanity. To individuals belonging to the third category, this book by Shoghi Effendi will indeed bring a new ray of hope.

Baha'ism is not merely a movement or a religion. It is rather a synthesis and the quintessence of all other religions. In its promise of a world order built upon equality, fellowship and peace, it reiterates in a fresh and integrated form what all religions and sciences have tried to teach. A glance at the Baha'i social and spiritual principles convinces the reader that they are not just a collection of metaphysical and philosophic doctrines concerned

with the hereafter, but practical tenets applicable to a democratic world here and now. They are : 1. Unfettered search after truth and the abandonment of all superstition and prejudice. 2. The oneness of mankind, all are "leaves of one tree, flowers in one garden." 3. Religion must be a cause of love and harmony, else it is not religion. 4. All religions are one in their fundamental principles. 5. Religion must go hand-in-hand with science. Faith and reason must be in full accord. 6. Universal peace: the establishment of a federated international order. 7. The adoption of an international secondary language which shall be taught in all the schools of the world. 8. Compulsory education and useful training. 9. Equal opportunities of development; equal rights and privileges for both sexes. 10. Work for all; no idle rich and no idle poor. 11. Abolition of extremes of poverty and wealth; care for the needy. 12. Recognition of the unity of God and obedience to his commands, as revealed through his divine manifestation.

These principles are worthy of careful and intense study not only by those who are seeking for a new religious light but also by sociologists and political economists. Some of them read like a leaf out of a document on the declaration of rights in a new and enlightened social order. The vision, breadth of outlook and catholicity of those teachings are bound to attract many followers, and indeed, if these universal truths are sincerely sought after by man, there is no reason why universal brotherhood should not be achieved.

K. H. CAMA

Probation and Parole Progress. Edited by MARJORIE BELL. New York: The National Probation Association, 1941. Pp. 470.

This is the Year-book of the National Probation Association. It is also a commemoration volume of the centenary of the birth of the probation system in America. It was in 1841 that John Augustus, a Boston shoemaker, began work as a volunteer in the Boston Police Court. The year-book is chiefly a compilation of the papers read at the Annual Conference of the Probation Association held in Boston in May 1941. There are also some other papers which were given at the National Conference of Social Work held in June 1941.

The less obvious social causes of crime and delinquency form a section of the book. Trends in case work practice, recognition of the particular problems of the adolescent delinquent, the use of group situations in a corrective programme, are also presented. A digest of current legislation on probation, parole and juvenile courts is included. The work of the Association for 1940-41 also is reviewed. Many of the papers are thorough, objective and illuminating. The section on "Offenders in the Making" gives us an insight into the causes of crime. Papers on "Trends in Juvenile Court Practice"

emphasise the need for more psychiatric work and also unorthodox and informal ways to be adopted in juvenile courts.

The social psychology of adolescents is analysed and how it is related to crime is discussed. Healthy social group formations are invariably recommended as aids to help the young to escape the temptations of crime for adventure. As usual much emphasis is laid on case work. The book, as all Year-books are, is extremely helpful to all interested in the treatment of delinquency.

P. M. TITUS

Their Finest Hour. }

Lights of Freedom. } Edited by ALLEN A. MICHIE and WALTER GRAEBNER.
London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1941. Pp. 190 & 182.

This war is different from the wars of the past. Men and women as individuals, not as masses formed into huge armed fighting forces, have been winning the victories or going down as heroes in defeat. When they are written, the most fascinating chapters in the history of this war will be those describing the exploits of individuals. It may sound strange that the heroes of the 'total war' of today are individual heroes. These two books prove the point. They are stories in first person of the exploits of individuals—pilots, army and navy men, common folk, fire wardens, doctors, nurses, housewives, working girls, women prisoners, alien internees etc. The editors are two reporters of the American pictorial magazine '*Life*'. The sociological importance of these two books is that they give us an insight into the psychology of people in a crisis. The morale of people is not something that can be drummed up by propaganda alone. There must be present a faith in values that people cherish, and then resistance to all that threaten to destroy them is spontaneous. The heights of endurance, sacrifice and comradeship to which these people have ascended give us a feeling that after all there is also the noble and beautiful side of human nature revealed in the process of a diabolic conflagration of conflicting nations. The faith of all in the capacity of human beings to ascend to heights is reinforced when reading these books. We would like to have more of such books to add some colour to the dark episodes of this war.

P. M. TITUS

FOR YOUR BOOK SHELF

Marriage for Moderns. By HENRY A. BOWMAN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941. 482 pp. . . . \$ 3.00

Discusses in a sympathetic yet objective manner the questions young people ask and the problems they face, not only in the choice of life partners, but also in their thinking about marriage and what it involves.

Dimensions of Society. By STUART CARTER DODD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. 950 pp. . . . \$ 12.00

This volume presents the foundations for a new "systematic" sociology and some of its important applications.

The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism. By GEORGE FREDERICK KNELLER. New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1941. 299 pp. . . . \$ 3.50

A thoughtful examination into the roots of the whole Nazi system with suggestive hypotheses concerning social change.

The Long Week End: A Social History of Great Britain. By ROBERT GRAVES AND ALLAN HODGE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. 455 pp. . . . \$ 3.00

A repertorial, impressionistic, suggestive book. It is, as the authors assert, "a reliable record of what took place, of a forgettable sort, during the twenty-one-year interval between two great European war."

Man Stands Alone. By JULIAN S. HUXLEY. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941. 297 pp. . . . \$ 2.75

A collection of occasional essays written at various intervals during the last decade by the author.

New Social Horizons. By SEBA ELDRIDGE. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1941. . . . \$ 3.50

A critical interpretation of contemporary American culture, with constructive proposals for reordering social and economic institutions.

Chart for Happiness. By HORNE LL HART. New York: Macmillan Co., 1940. 198 pp. . . . \$ 2.00

In this book with a religious tinge, Professor Hart measures happiness, diagnoses it and builds it.

British Labour and the War. By FRED A. WUNDERLICH. New York: New School for Social Research, 1941. 80 pp. . . . \$ 0.40

A substantial contribution to the growing literature of social change in Britain since the outbreak of World War II.

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

Volume III

DECEMBER 1942

Number 3

SOCIAL HYGIENE AND DEFENCE FORCES

SOCRATES NORONHA

Even in peace time, declares Dr. Noronha, venereal diseases exact a heavy toll on the health and efficiency of our armed forces. During a war this incidence assumes alarming proportions, involving serious social and economic consequences. After dealing with its evil effects in this article the author suggests constructive measures for control and prevention of the spread of this killing disease.

Dr. Noronha is Dermatologist and Venereologist to St. George's Hospital and to the Combined Military Hospitals in Bombay and is also the Honorary Secretary of the Bombay Social Hygiene Council.

IN a world beset by the scourge of the greatest war in history we have to adopt and uphold a new sense of values : *fit to fight* and *fit for life*. We cannot afford human waste by disease at a time when it is necessary to "keep the greatest number of men in the battle line the greatest number of days of the year". We cannot, even more, allow this war to leave behind it a heritage of disease. Individual health while it is an asset in war is more necessary as a social contribution towards post-war reconstruction. An "all out effort for victory" must therefore include an extensive and persistent programme for the eradication of preventable diseases.

Preventable Diseases.—Among the preventable diseases there is *one* group which is widely disseminated in all classes and communities of all countries in the world, attains enormous proportions during war time and, unlike other communicable diseases, has personal, domestic, social and economic reflection—*Venereal Diseases*.

Preventive Medicine concerns, itself with the future citizen before he is born by devising means to ensure his passage into the world by the certified skill of midwives. Then every phase of the new life is protected by preventative inoculations, balanced diets, school medical examinations and free hospital service. The house in which he lives is supervised regarding floor space, and his water and food is inspected to prevent pollution and adulteration. The

ultimate aim of this vast and intricate system is prevention of diseases. There is, however, one group of communicable diseases—Venereal Diseases—which in the past have had no place in the scheme of State Medicines and even now do not receive the attention their dreadfulness calls for. It is not because these are not widely spread nor because its effects are trivial. When they are among the most incapacitating and life destroying diseases, carrying destruction up to the third generation, “how then” asks Sir Malcolm Morris, “can we account for this staggering anomaly, that diseases which make far more damaging inroads upon the health and efficiency of the nation than some of those which the State has for years been vigorously combating, should have been left to pursue their baleful course unchecked?” The explanation is to be found mainly in the conspiracy of silence which has shrouded these diseases because of the stigma attached to it. It was only in 1916 that England lifted the veil of secrecy when a Royal Commission made some startling revelations to the world.

Incidence.—The Royal Commission above referred to came to the conclusion that in the United Kingdom “the number of persons who had been infected with syphilis, acquired or congenital, could not fall below 10 per cent of the whole population in large cities and that the percentage affected with gonorrhoea must greatly exceed this proportion”. It is now common knowledge that incidence of venereal diseases is high in all countries of the world and that no nation is immune from its ravages. A more recent statement from the “*Union Internationale Contre le peril Vénérien*” pointing to the universality of these diseases emphatically records that *Syphilis* alone affects from 5 to 20 per cent of entire population and that, *Gonorrhoea* being more prevalent, it is not easy to calculate the total dissemination. There are also other types of venereal diseases of lesser gravity which have to be taken into account.

In India our apathy which has coloured our history has not brought out a detailed survey of our incidence on lines which have done so much to clarify the position in Europe and still more in the United States. But the Bombay Social Hygiene Council has collected some information which is sufficiently elucidative to cause grave concern and to affirm that we are not lagging much behind the staggering figures overseas as far as our towns are concerned. And though India has only a few industrial towns and about 700,000 villages one cannot overlook the fact that there is a gradual absorption of men from country districts by industrial towns and that, if these men carry infection into their homes, venereal diseases must spread slowly but surely throughout the entire population. Add to it the fact that in a city like Bombay the majority of man-labour is composed of immigrants and that only one third of them are accompanied by their wives, that mixed labour is a

feature of our mills, factories and offices and that one room tenements is the rule rather than the exception among labouring classes, and we need not then adopt the attitude of doubting Thomas.

Widespread Influences of the Diseases.—In a nutshell, and we cannot attempt anything beyond what can be conditioned in the smallest shell, *Syphilis*, according to Sir Arthur Newsholme, ranks with Cancer, Tuberculosis and Pneumonia as one of the four greatest of the killing diseases. It is the most common cause of nervous diseases and the chief cause of diseases of the circulatory system; it is often a factor in the etiology of the diseases of the kidney and liver and it predisposes to cancer and tuberculosis. It is therefore responsible for a third of pathology. *Gonorrhoea* causes a certain number of incurable diseases in man and is the cause of half the pelvic ailments in women.

Two of the most tragic aspects of venereal diseases are to be found among the innocent victims who acquire these diseases from their husbands and the innocent children who inherit them from their parents. About 50 per cent of sterilities in women are attributable to this infection while venereal diseases are said to be responsible for 50 per cent of abortions and miscarriages and 25 per cent of still births.

A large proportion of our infant mortality in the cities is probably due to syphilis. But death is not the only toll which Venereal Diseases take on infant life. A large number grow to a miserable adolescence tainted with their blasting effects. It was estimated that about 30 per cent of children in our blind schools, about 25 per cent in our deaf schools and about 50 per cent of the mentally deficient (idiots and imbeciles) who crowd our hospitals and asylums are calculated to be the living results of venereal diseases.

Social and Economic Consequences.—It does not need much imagination to conceive the social repercussions of this social scourge: individual unhappiness, domestic tragedies, suffering and misery and slaughter of the innocents—the innocent child especially whose birth right it is to be born healthy, to survive and enjoy the life that has been given to it. But apart from the suffering it is important to bear in mind the enormous toll these diseases levy on the national economy of a country. Infant mortality is a loss of workers to the State and if these innocent victims escape early death they form a very large proportion of those who, by reason of blindness, deafness and mental deficiency, swell private and public expenditure in the maintenance of hospitals and asylums, and add to the expenses incurred in their treatment the extra cost of their education. The cost of educating a deaf child is ten times as great as that of a normal child; a blind child costs seven times more than an ordinary child to educate! In the matter of adults there is firstly the death roll—a loss

of workers to the State—then an enormous amount of temporary incapacitation and a permanent diminution of man-power, physical and mental. The reduction of professional capacity has been calculated as 15 to 25 per cent in western countries. And finally there is the expense incurred in the maintenance of hospitals and homes for cripples—a national wastage which involves monetary losses amounting to astronomical figures.

An Effort.—The publication of the Royal Commission's Report woke up England and elaborate measures were devised to control a disease which for many years had been playing with the health and stamina of the people. In the wake of the English movement some measures were adopted in India. After many years of concerted action reports from Venereal Disease Clinics in England state that the incidence of venereal diseases in the civil population appears to be decreasing judging from the new cases presenting themselves for treatment at the various centres. This was expected since the Ministry of Health in that country has been accorded powers and funds to implement a national scheme of preventive and curative measures—a work in which it is helped by powerful social organizations in the field of public education, sex guidance and social service. We in India are yet where England and most European countries stood more than two decades ago, combating venereal diseases in sporadic efforts.

The War.—Even in peace time venereal diseases exact a heavy toll on the health and efficiency of our armed forces. During a war this incidence assumes alarming proportions. The incidence of venereal diseases in the Navy in 1900 stood at 119 per 1,000 total strength. With their wide activities which brought them in contact with all kinds of countries in all parts of the world, this is not surprising. But a persistent programme of Education, Medical Prophylaxis, Early Diagnosis and Early Treatment, restrictions of leave and ample facilities for healthy recreation brought the figure down to 73 in 1914. When the last war broke out the incidence went up, and in 1921 the case ratio per 1,000 was 113. An intensified campaign this time with a certain amount of co-operation on shore from measures of prevention adopted by civilians brought down the incidence to 69 per 1,000 in 1930 and the number of days lost to the service reduced to a figure approximating 50%. From 1930 the efforts of the Naval Medical Service were continuously in operation ashore and afloat and brought the figures further down to a considerable extent. And now the war again, and we shall have to wait to hear of the inevitable rise.

In the army—British Army in India—the incidence was 200 per 1,000 strength in 1904. A similar programme to that adopted in the Navy modified to suit land forces brought it down to 53 in 1914. When the last war broke

out the incidence went up, and in 1921 it stood at 110. Then the downward trend began which reached the consoling figure of 32 in 1933. The advent of the present war has brought the inevitable rise. The Annual Report on the Health of the Army in India reveals the fact that in 1940, only one year after the war, the figure went up to 58 per 1,000 strength and the Director of Medical Services in India remarks : "Among the most interesting features of the year in the health of the British Army has been the continued upward trend of the incidence of venereal diseases . . . It seems probable that the unsettling effect of war conditions with the ever present possibility of active service may have led to a lowering of moral standards and of natural fastidiousness with, as a corollary, an increase in Venereal Diseases."

The statistical charts published in the above report reveal the astounding fact that among the principal causes of admission to the British Hospitals, Malaria and Venereal Diseases stand highest in a tie; and in the graphs of constantly sick per 1,000, venereal diseases top the list at 3.37 with Malaria a fairly distant second at 2.83.

Among the Indian troops the incidence of venereal diseases in 1921 was 60 per 1,000 *strength*. There was a rapid drop to 11.1 in 1930 and a further decrease to 8.5 in 1939. In 1940, within a year after the war, the admission ratio rose to 18.9 and is still on the rise. The Director of Medical Services remarks: "Owing to the great increase in recruits for Mechanical Transport and Ordnance Units, the tendency has been for the proportion of recruits drawn from towns and industrial areas to increase. These recruits are more sophisticated than the country recruits and also more accustomed to consorting with prostitutes. There is also a tendency in wartime for young soldiers to adopt the mental attitude 'Let me enjoy myself before I go on active service where I may possibly be killed'. This frequently leads to an increase in sexual indulgence."

It needs but little reflection to realise two of the factors making for such an increase in wartime: the gathering of enormous numbers of young men into military camps and sea-ports away from home influences, recruited at an early age and attractive to women in their uniforms, and the wave of emotionalism that swamps the self-restraint of so many girls and young women when a war is on. There is, of course, the permanent factor which assumes larger proportions during movements of troops: the wide facilities for infection afforded by brothels and by loose women loitering about the garrisons and dock-yards.

But in this war there is the added factor and therefore the added problem of women—also made more attractive in their uniforms—being thrown together with men in a companionship which is fraught with dangers for both,

Women are playing their part in the present emergency and one of the important contributions they are making is to replace or work side by side with the men in both Military and Civil avocations. It is quite possible for men and women to work together and be friends, but even in peace time there are pitfalls in this *constant companionship* arising from that very complex phenomenon—the sex reactions. In war the increased emotional tension particularly in the adolescent group, many of whom have not achieved that power of self-control so much needed under conditions of difficulty and temptation brings about sexual promiscuity. To serve his country a man leaves his home, his women folk, and in the dreariness of his new position meets a woman co-worker who wishes to show her gratitude and admiration to him who is fighting for the preservation of freedom and democracy. How many men are there who will realise that such friendships carry with it certain responsibilities and that it is for him to show that he does not expect her to express her gratitude in lax sex behaviour? There is again the girl who in the course of a friendship gets engaged and, because of war conditions which preclude marriage, her intimacy with the man leads her to a complete surrender which leaves her anxious and distressed with an illegitimate child; or the girl who marries in a hurry—war marriages!—and is left with a deserted child. There is another aspect of this subject which has rarely been thrashed out in the matter of sex responsibilities. Many women in their *constant partnership* at work can easily arouse in men the desire for physical sex expression without experiencing any difficulty in keeping their own self-control. If this power is exerted by her without any honest intention, then she is being unfair to him; she increases his difficulties and he may in consequence seek sex satisfaction with an undesirable type of woman and get, instead of friendship and help, a venereal disease. In the past wars the lonely wife away from her husband for long periods of times and left to a life of unrestrained desires, or may be economic needs, was also sometimes the offending party. Today the problem of a lonely husband, who is unable to join up and is sexually starved, is a much greater problem.

Venereal diseases come from germs and are usually passed on from one person to another by sexual contact. The prevalent idea that they can be caught from germs on a lavatory seat, for example, is greatly exaggerated. Many men have the wrong idea that the disease develops in women and is then passed on to men. That is a myth. Every infected woman has got the disease from an infected man just as every infected man has got it from an infected woman. If we were today to close up all the infected women in the world a fresh crop of them would arise tomorrow because we did not close up the infected men also.

The Repercussions.—The repercussions of venereal diseases just now are a problem of the war—so many men prevented from joining up or, after being inducted into service, swarming the list of constantly sick or invalided out of service. In the last war infections among the British fighting forces ran into 400,000, the period of invalidism in each case being on an average five to seven weeks. Among the American troops it was learnt that 30,000 men had been infected with venereal diseases and that these diseases were the cause of one third as many non-effective days as all battle casualties together, and that if all these men had contracted the diseases at the same time approximately 23 divisions would have been put out of commission. It is said that our confidence in the survival of civilization in this crucial year of 1942 rests on the power of production of guns and tanks and planes and ships, yet “we cannot forget” says Dr. Winslow of the American Social Hygiene “that there must be a man behind the gun and a man behind the machine that makes the gun; in the health, the vigour and efficiency of the people lies the basic assurance of victory”. But after victory we have to face the aftermath of the war: the individual and the group reactions in which the family is probably the most tragic centre of the drama, and the drain on national resources in post-war reconstruction which will include multiplication of hospitals, the institutional care of cripples and a permanent shadow on unborn generations.

Control in Armed Forces.—The army has its own organization to prevent and control venereal diseases. The methods used may be broadly classified under 4 headings:—(a) educational; (b) medical prophylaxis; (c) ample facilities for diagnosis and treatment, and (d) diminution of opportunities for exposure to infection.

Commanding officers of all grades are responsible for promoting *education* in sex hygiene among military personnel by arranging suitable instructions on the prevention and control of venereal diseases for all enlisted men of his command. The Medical Officer of the unit arranges suitable lectures and issues leaflets explaining the nature and gravity of the disease, insists on the need of early diagnosis and efficient treatment which the army medical service provides, denounces the idea that continence is ever harmful and that incontinence is an essential attribute of manliness, warns against the “amateur” and “professional” prostitute and on the contributory effect of alcoholic indulgence by diminishing self control and, finally, makes a personal appeal to everyone to keep fit for “King and Country”. It has been found that these instructions make the men more careful and less inclined to attempt concealment of disease. Probably they are much more effective in the case of young soldiers whose habits are yet unformed.

While the guiding principle continues to be that continence and self-control not only develop character but are the only satisfactory methods of preventing venereal diseases, the importance of *medical prophylaxis* is stressed as a necessary precaution when the foregoing educational efforts have failed. Prophylactic Centres are maintained in all camps, posts and stations. Commanders emphasize to men of their commands the necessity of reporting to Prophylactic Centres within an hour or as early as possible after exposure to infection. This treatment is administered to all men returning to camp in an intoxicated condition. Men leaving on furlough are especially warned and instructed in methods of using "prophylactic packets".

An efficient diagnostic and curative medical service is provided in the army. Every man suffering from or suspected to be suffering from venereal disease is admitted to a military hospital, and detained and kept there so long as he is contagious. He is questioned as to where and from whom he contracted the disease and the information obtained is forwarded to the proper quarters for such action as may be deemed necessary. Management of venereal diseases conforms to the best current methods, diagnostic and curative processes being carried out by means of a very elaborate system whereby the man obtains the necessary attention in continuity wherever he may be moving to.

Diminution of Opportunities for Exposure to Infection are obtained by keeping loose women and their abodes "out of bounds" for the troops, by promoting recreational facilities which will keep the soldiers in healthy surroundings, and by drink restrictions as far as possible. Concealment of disease is a punishable offence. A man is not punished for contracting venereal diseases, the penalty he suffers is "hospital stoppages". A small sum is deducted for every day he is in hospital to remind him that he has acquired his disease and so rendered himself inefficient as a result of his own fault.

The Navy and the Air Force have similar measures modified to suit the organisation of the Force.

There is a regulation in the American Army that prevention and control of venereal diseases is the responsibility of the Unit Commander. Unless extenuating circumstances exist, a high incidence of venereal disease in a command shall be regarded as indicative of a lack of efficiency on the part of the Commander concerned. Commanders of Units showing a low incidence receive full credit for their achievement. *If a similar ordinance is not in force among our troops it seems desirable that it should be introduced early and strictly enforced.* No amount of provisions ever produce results if not followed in the right spirit and with determination to obtain good results.

Co-ordinated Efforts.—But what is of paramount importance is that those responsible for the health of the armed forces should utilise to the utmost

extent and in every possible way the co-operation of civil agencies, official and non-official, in their endeavour to keep the men fit. A comprehensive programme of combat against venereal diseases must include army relations with civilian groups because the problem is so interdependent. From the point of view of the army it must be borne in mind that the infections are acquired in civilian communities and not within the military force itself while the civil population has to collaborate towards the one great need of a healthy army, fit to fight and fit for successful family life and good citizenship when the fighting is over.

The British Social Hygiene Council in England helps the army in preparing instructions in venereal diseases and submits notes to the war office. The Council's services are also being utilised for training newly-joined medical officers as lecturers to the troops. Further, with the concurrence of the Medical Department of the war office, specially selected members of the Council give addresses at various training camps, depots and commands in the country and distribute leaflets through appropriate agencies making widely known the locations of the free treatment centres. The War Executive Committee of the Council has also not lost sight of one of the special problems incidental to this war, namely, the care of girls enlisted in various services and have established Personal Problems Services through which adequate assistance, treatment and after-care is provided for girls who contract venereal diseases, become pregnant or who find themselves in any correlated type of social difficulties. And while all these immediate needs of the army are supplied, the Council continues with added energy to deal with all those problems connected with venereal diseases which they have been striving to solve for over a quarter of a century.

The American Social Hygiene Council has embarked on a vigorous programme of prevention and control of venereal diseases in co-operation with the leaders of the armed forces who participated at a meeting of the Association when the President declared that a national emergency existed and resolved that the following services should be developed by State and local Health and Police Authorities in co-operation with the Medical Corps of the United States Army, the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the United States Public Health Service and Voluntary Organizations :—

1. Early diagnosis and adequate treatment by the Army and Navy of enlisted personnel infected with venereal diseases.
2. Early diagnosis and treatment of the civilian population by the Local Health Department.
3. When authentic information can be obtained as to the probable source of venereal disease infection of military or naval personnel, the facts will be reported by Medical Officers of the Army or Navy to the State or Local Health authorities as may be required. If additional authentic information is available as to extra-

marital contacts with diseased military or naval personnel during the communicable stage, this should also be reported.

4. All contacts of enlisted men with infected civilians to be reported to the medical officers in charge of the Army and Navy by the local or State Health authorities.
5. Recalcitrant infected persons with communicable syphilis or gonorrhoea to be forcibly isolated during the period of communicability ; in civilian populations it is the duty of the Local Health authorities to obtain the assistance of the local Police authorities in enforcing such isolation.
6. Decrease as far as possible the opportunities for contacts with infected persons. The local Police department is responsible for the repression of commercialized and clandestine prostitution. The Local Health Department, the State Health Department, the Public Health Service, the Army and the Navy will co-operate with the local Police authorities in repressing prostitution.
7. An aggressive programme of education both among enlisted personnel and civilian population regarding the dangers of venereal diseases, the methods for preventing these infections, and the steps which should be taken if a person suspects that he is infected.
8. The Local Police and Health Authorities, the State Department of Health, the Public Health Service, the Army and the Navy desire the assistance of representatives of the American Social Hygiene Association or affiliated Social Hygiene Societies, or other Voluntary Welfare Organizations or groups in developing and stimulating public support for the above measure.

There are no such co-operative activities in India. It is highly desirable that there should be. But apart from any co-operation it is time, in fact, high time the civil community concerned itself more actively in the matter of Social Hygiene both as a contribution towards the war and as a measure of precaution against what awaits us after the war. In the compressed form in which we have to deal with the subject we can only make a passing reference to those measures which will help us meet the situation.

Prostitution.—Prostitution like the poor is ever with us. It is coeval with mankind. The evil is common to all ranks and races of people and is prevalent in all countries. It is the *fons et origo* of venereal diseases. The reason why in the past its evils have not been mitigated is because measures have been mainly directed to control the prostitute and little or nothing was done to check commercialised prostitution. Professors H. Gougerot and Ernest Gaucher of Paris point out in a very lucid joint paper that when a woman goes wrong and becomes infected she is regarded as an enemy and is legislated for in France for the attempted protection of society, forgetful of the clear fact that if she gives a venereal infection to man it is equally clear that another man gave her the disease first. There is interest and wisdom in their remarks when they further explain that of ten prostitutes eight at least were in the first instance seduced and deserted; and then through inability to get employment and consequent poverty went from fall to fall. Only two-tenths of the prostitutes according to Gaucher adopt the trade through vice, laziness or love of luxury and even these are the products

of environmental upbringing. Feeble-mindedness, adds Professor Gougerot, which leads to incapacity for entering into successful competition with normal woman is another source of prostitution.

The Prostitute ! There are some things so unthinkable that they only continue because we refuse to think of them. The following quotation from "Men, Women and God" by Rev. Herbert Gray is thought provoking:—

"It is not the prostitute who is unthinkable. She is only the tragic figure in the centre of a devil's drama. It is society's attitude to her that is unthinkable. By men she is used for their pleasure and then despised and scorned. By women she is held an outcast and yet she is the main buttress of the immunity of ordinary women from danger and temptation. She is the creation of men who traffic in lust and yet is held shameless by her patrons. She is the product of the social sins for which we are all responsible and yet is considered the most sinful of us all. Often she was beguiled into her first mistake by the pretence of love and because to that pretence she made a natural and sincere response. Sometimes she was cajoled into her mistake by older friends in the shape of women. Sometimes she suffered physical violence at the hands of male friends. Often she plunged into sin in desperation because in the modern world she could not get a living wage in return for honest work. Sometimes she made a wild reckless dash towards excitement because she could no longer endure the stifling, drab and hideous monotony coupled with privation which we allow to become the lot of millions."

The solution of the individual problem of the prostitute will never be solved if we lose sight of the fact that there is a fallen man behind every fallen woman. Whatever therefore makes for social betterment in this particular sphere, such as the raising of the economic conditions of life, the protection of children and young girls from adverse environmental conditions, social service to readjust the maladjusted, abolition of unsocial customs and the institution of rescue work in general, are all measures of importance; but a real contribution towards this personal problem is that which makes for equal responsibility between sexes and leads women to demand of men the same code of honour, decency and self-respect that men demand of them.

Commercialised Prostitution.—Commercialised prostitution must be relentlessly attacked, pursued and eliminated. It is an extensive system of traders in vice—traffickers in women and girls who travel within and without the country, making it both a national and international trade in pitiable merchandise, the *procurers* who train the recruits for business, the *mesdames* who keep the houses of assignment and run brothels, the *panderers* who canvass for clients. These are the vile ramifications of a vile tree which keep this market supplied and run prosperously for third parties. This third party

gain is the ugliest feature of the whole trade where men and women live on the earnings of prostitutes and on this score alone it is an intolerable affair.

Reforms in laws, in administration and social customs in India are being pushed on by the Governments of different provinces and several Vigilance and Moral and Social Hygiene Associations are in the field. Many provinces and States have already legal enactments directed towards the commercialised aspects of the problem. But laws have to be properly enforced to bring their full blast on the evaders and modified to suit changing circumstances. For example, the Bombay Prostitution Act of 1923, which was the earliest piece of legislation undertaken in this particular sphere, was modified in 1934 and is still defective in meeting the situation. Together with laws, which by themselves cannot attain much, the societies dealing with this problem have to redouble their efforts in educating public opinion till people are horrified, disgusted and ashamed and rise in a wave of indignation to demand more stringent measures against this social scourge.

Some may ask why we do not adopt the European system of regulation of prostitution. The answer is obvious. It is a system which perpetuates commercialised prostitution and gives State sanction to a vice. It cannot therefore be justified as a measure of public policy. But apart from this objection, on its own ground it is not a measure which lessens the evils it is meant to remedy. The fallacy of the system was exposed by Abraham Flexner as far back as 1914.

In regulated communities the prostitute applies to the police for permission to carry on her trade; her name and abode are registered; she agrees to live in a particular place and to appear at regular intervals for medical examination. These rules aim to secure public order and to promote public health. If regulation hopes to grapple with prostitution on either of these grounds the prime necessity is that all prostitutes in a country should be regulated and it is clear that if only a minority is inscribed the policy cannot be said to control the situation from either the standpoint of health or the standpoint of order. In those places in Europe where regulation has been in force, nowhere is more than an unimportant fraction registered. The bulk of prostitutes are usually the temporary shifting and incidental ones who cannot be enrolled. The permanent professional prostitutes practise their calling so cautiously as to evade the law; they elude the vigilance of honest police and currupt the dishonest. Even if a few avowedly stupid ones are registered and subjected to police regulations, one cannot see how public order and decency can be preserved thereby because a system of regulation necessarily concedes prominence to prostitution, for the law cannot enroll a woman and deny her opportunities to prosecute the business for which she has taken an official

licence. Segregation within walls is an imprisonment. Concentration in a single neighbourhood is both difficult and undesirable. Prostitution like crime is most dangerous and most offensive when it collects in nests.

The sanitary side of regulation also presents many problems. The registered prostitute is medically inspected at intervals, the diseased is detained and treated till she becomes non-infectious. It is precisely this detention which is long and the decision regarding non-infectivity which is difficult that make this procedure impracticable. Even if the medical service was organized to perfection and the State had no compunction in spending large sums of money on Lock Hospitals for the detention of diseased prostitutes, it would prove ineffective. Here is a simple fact as an example of the ineffectiveness of the measure. A prostitute after remaining for months in a Lock Hospital is released cured. That same night she is re-infected and subsequently she infects dozens of men till she comes back for her next medical examination. What is the ultimate result of a long drawn detention and treatment? To my mind medical inspection of prostitutes could only be effectual if one adopted a procedure based on the assumption that regulated prostitutes were all diseased and were given daily treatment in such a way as to reduce their infectivity to a minimum. This desideratum and others of preserving public order and decency could only be attained if prostitution could be run institutionally on lines reported by E. Lipinay in Casablanca where a prostitute's quarter, 5 acres in extent, was built by the Municipality provided with cinemas, dance houses, cafés etc., and the area was walled with only one gate. A large staff controlled it and a body of medical experts examined prostitutes and gave them prophylactic and curative treatments every day. This ideal cage system may be possible in a small State. No country has yet attempted it, obviously because it is so impracticable.

The usual methods of regulations have not succeeded anywhere. In Paris after more than a century of regulation, venereal diseases are more prevalent than in countries where this system has been discarded or never adopted. Time was when regulation was adopted almost throughout Europe. It has died down in most countries and cannot be said to be vigorous any longer even in a single country in which it still exists. It is a system which is condemned by moral sense and discredited by results—in fact, a matter of unfortunate history for most countries which adopted it including England and India.

The Regulation System introduced by Napoleon in 1802 was based on the notion that continence was harmful to physical and mental health. Under this system women were segregated for the use of the troops to satisfy a "biological necessity" and were regulated by the State to prevent the spread of venereal diseases. The policy was adopted and given effect to in England by

the passing of the Contagious Diseases Act of 1864 with the object of preventing the spread of venereal diseases in Military and Naval centres. The C. D. Act was earlier applied to India where regular brothels were established in cantonments for the use of the troops. Indian and Japanese women were housed in them and medically examined. The Acts were repealed in 1886 as they served no useful purpose and the incidence of venereal diseases in the army came down when the policy of regulation was abandoned and the Army Authorities applied themselves in earnest to educational and other measures previously described. In the civilian population the passing of the English Contagious Diseases Act of 1866 was followed by an Indian Counterpart Act IV of 1868 which enabled the Provinces to enforce registration and compulsory examination of common prostitutes, and their detention till cured. In Bombay a temporary Lock Hospital was built and staffed, and the City divided into six registration districts; the administration of the Act was entrusted to a Supervisor with six Medical Inspectors and a small force of policemen and matrons. In the first year Rs. 80,000/- were spent and 2,000 prostitutes registered. The Bench of Justices decided in 1871 that the results were poor, and in 1872 the operations under the Act were formally closed and the Hospital and inspecting staff disbanded. The Act was revived in 1880 when the City Corporation took up the working of it, with poorer results than before, and the C. D. Act was finally repealed by the Central Government in 1888 two years after the repeal of the English Acts.

As a wartime action a few emergency measures are of immediate necessity in connection with prostitution. The Army and Navy keep their men out of bounds for brothels existing in the vicinity of military areas. But there is a class of prostitutes which is an ambulant type and solicits in places frequented by armed forces while in wartime an amateur class which is more evasive arises—the loose women who indulge in promiscuous intercourse while following other occupations. There is reason to believe that this class has increased considerably. What is required in such cases is strict enforcement by local authorities of their existing by-laws against solicitation and vagrancy with the adoption, if necessary, of additional more stringent ones, or the enactment of new laws where none exist under the Defence of Realm Act. In this connection the creation of a Woman Police Service, working under the joint authority of the civil and military police, is a measure which is bound to help in checking the evil. In countries in which this system of “women patrols” has been tried the results have been distinctly encouraging.

Medical Prophylaxis.—The next measure for consideration is the use of agents which will prevent the passage of organisms of venereal diseases from one person to another. Measures of this kind can be taken both by men and

women. They consist of mechanical appliances during the act or chemical disinfection after the exposure. The efficacy of the latter method has been proved by experimental research and experience has confirmed the fact that it is practically certain to prevent venereal diseases provided that the disinfection is properly carried out and takes place within a short time of exposure. Failures occur when self-disinfection is not carried out skilfully which is to be expected under conditions of difficulty, propriety or inebriation, or when the person reports for preventive treatment at a Prophylaxis Station for disinfection by a skilled attendant after the prescribed time limit—every hour beyond which brings down the percentage of successful prophylaxis.

Medical prophylaxis in the prevention of venereal diseases is a measure which has aroused fierce controversy. Its ardent advocates think it would bring venereal diseases to a vanishing point while its opponents argue that since no method has been found which is fool-proof and under the usual circumstances of sexual intercourse can be carried out to ensure a high percentage of safety, the promiscuity which it encourages would result in an increase of venereal diseases. There are also those who oppose the measure on ethical grounds. I do not think that in a question in which moral degradation is not involved its public health value can be ignored and brushed aside on sentimental grounds. The encouragement of continence by education, temperance, provision of suitable recreation for the body and mind etc., is undoubtedly of the utmost importance in diminishing diseases and should be pursued with all possible vigour but it is futile to pretend that nothing more is necessary, and that all will respond to these efforts. Medical prophylaxis is therefore a measure which must line itself up along with the other measures to prevent the dissemination of venereal diseases. Its drawbacks are purely social and can be reduced by education and better public facilities. The Army and Navy have by experience found the value of prophylaxis and adopted it as a measure of combat against venereal diseases. It is time the civilian population also adopted the system both as a permanent internal measure as well as a wartime co-operation. In India, the city of Bombay has given the lead. The Bombay Municipality has seven Prophylactic Centres and the Bombay Port Trust two at the docks.

The Carriers.—Next to prophylaxis comes the treatment of the carrier adopted first by Denmark in 1778 and by Sweden in 1817. England woke up to its need in 1913 when the Royal Commission dealt with this problem. The broad principle of the scheme is to stop the spread of venereal diseases by bringing under treatment the greatest possible proportion of the infected and keeping them under treatment until definitely non-infectious. In other words, it means the treatment until cured of all those who are infected. This

requires an organisation with a definite policy behind it as set up in European countries with good results. A beginning has been made in India but some of the essential points in the organisation are overlooked while co-ordination of efforts is very much lacking. Our first need is obviously the mobilisation of all medical services. The *medicoes in fieri* need better training in venereal diseases and those already in the field adequate refresher courses. Active co-operation in the general scheme of Nurses, Midwives and Health-Visitors is imperative. The nurse is in a privileged position with regard to the patient and her point of view, like that of the teacher, carries considerable weight with the public she comes in contact with. The midwife who enters so freely into the homes of the people and is in the position of trusted friend and adviser to many families can give most valuable assistance if she is trained in both the social and medical aspects of venereal diseases.

No satisfactory scheme for rendering medical help can be organised unless the responsibility is shouldered by the State. The policy should broadly be *to render the best means of diagnosis and treatment available free of charge to every venereal patient*. To carry out such an aim successfully one has to bear in mind a few prerequisites. Firstly, there must be extensive facilities for diagnosis and treatment made available in the body of general hospitals where the stigma attached to the disease is removed by every possible means and not in institutions made *ad hoc* venereal centres where such stigma is made prominent. An easily accessible, sympathetic and efficient service, free of charge to all, is a dominant need. The point of view from which the question is regarded is that it is the duty and the interest of the State to see that venereal diseases are promptly cured, as otherwise the patients will continue to be a source of danger to public health, and will sooner or later be incapacitated from taking their part in the nation's work or swell public benevolent institutions and become a charge upon the public purse. In the efforts which have been made in India to combat venereal diseases most of these points have been unsatisfactorily covered and there is one, namely, the provision of a *Social Service* attached to venereal clinics, which has been entirely missed. The dissemination of a disease in which the spreading factor is human conduct calls for a service based on human understanding and designed to influence the family trio "*Father, Mother and Child*". One need only consider such problems as the defaulter, the destitute, the expectant mother, the infected child to realise how often a patient needs material help and, oftener than that, encouragement and advice in restoring harmony of family life. As Dorothy Manchée has put it, "since patients can rarely confide this infection to relatives or friends, even the most stable find continued attendance unbearable if there is no one with whom they can discuss their

difficulties and with time and patience for those valuable safety valves of temper and tears." Social Service in some form has everywhere a vital part to play in the venereal diseases service. The finest hospitals or clinics are valueless without this human element, and the war and post-war individual problems call for it even more urgently.

Legislation.—There is at present a good deal of diversity of opinion among nations as to the value of legislation in combating venereal diseases. Some countries have adopted rigorous measures of compulsion designed in the main to affect those already diseased and to prevent spread of contagion by them whereas others have very little or nothing in the way of compulsory legislation and believe in the efficacy of other methods of a persuasive nature. Divergencies of opinion and practice centre round the themes of liberty of action *versus* compulsion. The country which represents the principle of freedom is Great Britain where there are no laws of constraint. France and Belgium also proclaim their adherence to methods of liberty excepting in regard to what concerns prostitution which is regulated and controlled. In the United States of America legal compulsion is advocated in the majority of the States, making treatment obligatory, prohibiting prostitution and regulating marriages, whereas Germany had laws of constraint against individuals infected but did not forbid prostitution. These are types illustrative of the fact that these problems are debatable ones and that it is difficult to formulate a universal method of procedure since each nation has to take into account its own factors. In India, we consider it unwise to ask for legislation on compulsory lines under existing conditions: ignorance will inevitably lead to concealment of diseases and the lack of ample facilities and treatment will make coercive measures impracticable. Our policy must be to educate the public, to awaken public conscience and create in the people themselves such a profound impression concerning the seriousness of these diseases as will cause them to demand protection and efficient sanitary laws later on.

But the war calls for some legal enactments which are not of a stringent character and the introduction of which does not involve debatable questions. The unrestricted sale of anti-venereal drugs without a requisition from a duly qualified medical practitioner needs immediate control for very obvious reasons. There are dangers involved in it—toxicity of the drug and the inadequacy of treatment without expert medical guidance. Another measure which should not be delayed is the pre-nuptial certification of health. War marriages are increasing, and war infections are assailing the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. Marriage health certificate is nothing new. It was considered by French legislators nearly a century ago in the reign of Louis Philippe but for some reasons, the main one being the old story of violation of professional

secrecy, nothing definite came out of it in France and England. It was in one of the American States that it was first instituted as a legal requirement and its adoption was afterwards extended to several others. In Sweden, Norway and Denmark the health certificate is the most important document which is required from couples contemplating matrimony while in Germany anyone who married while in a condition of contagion without acquainting his future wife beforehand was liable to imprisonment.

Education.—Last but not least, spreading the light is the most effective of all methods. The propagation among people of the kind of knowledge which will make them shun infection and submit themselves to skilled treatment in the earliest stage is the first essential. Luckily venereal diseases are no longer an indecent subject to discuss or write about, and the last war has helped this war by altering the attitude of the public towards the subject. As Sir Malcolm Morris put it “Armageddon has changed the values in almost every sphere of the nation’s life, has invalidated many a musty precedent and annihilated many a hollow convention, has created a presumption in favour of a vigorous and drastic handling of great questions.”

There is a mistake which is being perpetuated for years in this country, and that is of adopting European methods of propaganda without paying any attention to the people’s habits and outlook which call for a different approach. For example, unlike lectures and luminous projections, a very striking reception is obtained in the villages when a radio entertainment, which includes health talks, is provided for them often in dramatic form; it draws crowded audiences round the receiver each evening. Miss Nora Hill tells us that Mr. F. Brayne, whose rural work is well known, gave a series of talks in the Punjab in the role of Socrates. Afterwards when he went to some of the villages, he introduced himself as “Socrates” who had talked to them through the wonderful machine. “Oh no” said the villagers “you are not Socrates. We know he is an old gentleman with a white beard and you have no beard”. They had entered so fully into the talk that they had identified the speaker with the role he played.

Intimately connected with the public enlightenment is the problem of sex guidance and social hygiene teaching to adolescents. Every progressive country in the world has taken this matter up seriously. Experts still differ on some aspects of the problem. The disagreement is as to the form of approach and not as to the need of such an education. We are of the opinion that a grounding in biological sciences should be given in schools before the age of adolescence through courses of evolutionary biology, dealing with the laws of life and reproduction, to lay a foundation on which teaching of social hygiene can be effectively ministered. Thus the sense of social and racial

responsibility in the individual can be re-inforced by knowledge. Given such cultural background of biological sciences, the educationists would be able to decide on the methods of warning the adolescents against the dangers of venereal diseases while inculcating in them the ideals of citizenship and public health.

The remedy in the main is education and more education and that education should include biology. Our lads at the front know the intricate secrets of tanks and aeroplanes but are ignorant of the working of their own body. Chemistry and physics with which we have been so deeply concerned have let loose on us those forces which make up for the destruction of life. Let us redress the balance by turning to Biology which tells us the fascinating story of the way life force carries on.

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE IN A WAR ECONOMY

E. J. S. RAM

It is absolutely essential, says Mr. Ram, to provide workers the necessities of life at this time of international strife to enable them to have faith in what they are fighting for. The author outlines in this article a scheme of labour welfare to promote the health, morale and efficiency of the worker and hopes that most of the progressive steps already adopted as wartime measures will become permanent features of our economic organization after the war.

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WITH the nations at war, and the rapid growth and development of war industries, no time is more propitious for the initiation and expansion of welfare work for the betterment of the living and working conditions of industrial workers than the present one. In the absence of adequate provision for suitable amenities, the efficiency of the workers is undermined and the production level becomes low. Adequate attention to the health and well-being of the workers, in order to reduce the risk of physical break-down and nervous strain, is demanded by the present pressure on industries. Facilities of technical training, general education, better housing, medical aid, healthy recreation and security of employment will have to be provided in the interest of general efficiency and harmonious relationship.

Though welfare work was carried on to a certain extent with state aid in western countries in the prewar years, the acceleration of the industries to meet the demands of the present world war has forced the State as well as the private industrialist to intensify welfare activities to keep labour peaceful, contented, and happy. It is gratifying to note that subsequent to the declaration of hostilities, the British Government not only thought it expedient to increase welfare work in industrial undertakings but also deemed it essential to transfer this portfolio from the Home Secretary under the Factories Act to the Minister of Labour and National Service in order to give to this work more time and attention for the duration of war. Since then many new enactments have been set afoot in this connection bringing all the industries, state as well as private, under their supervision. At a time when the factories are working seven days a week and twenty-four hours a day, it is no wonder that such a gesture has come from the Government.

Turning to the situation in Indian industries, we see here conditions not very dissimilar to those abroad. At the suggestion of the Government of India, the Provincial Governments have issued notifications exempting cotton

spinning and weaving mills in their provinces from the operation of Section 34 of the Factories Act. This in effect enhances the working hours from 54 to 60 for a six day week. Such conditions emphatically call for greater amenities for the operatives who may gladly rise up to the situation and co-operate with the Management and the State when their comforts are carefully looked after and the material facilities, necessary for the fulfilment of their bare human needs are provided. It is an admitted fact that one of the important duties of the State in relation to labour is welfare work, which may be defined as work for the improvement and betterment of the economic, social and moral status of the workers. Welfare work in effect means the work undertaken for improving the health, safety, general well-being and the industrial efficiency of the workers beyond the minimum standards laid down by the Factory Act and other labour legislations. The need of welfare work is imperative at the present time when all the energies of the State have to be conserved and marshalled to preserve itself from internal chaos and external aggression. Its importance is greater in India today than before as our industrial activity has been greatly increased, and the enemy is intermittently knocking at our gates.

Morale of the Workers.—Since the outbreak of the present war, the allied nations have reorganized their social and economic life on a war basis. In India too almost all industries have been placed on a war footing. So also the present day living conditions in India are not dissimilar to those in other countries. For instance, the working hours in mills and factories have been increased from 54 to 60 for a six-day week. The cost of living has risen to such an extent that the worker finds it difficult to make both ends meet with what he receives. In Bombay the cost of living index number for the working classes, on base July 1933 to June 1934 equal to 100, reached the figure of 170 during September 1942 which is higher by 65 points as compared with the prewar month of August 1939.

A total warfare is being waged for the sake of self preservation. This total warfare requires not only munitions, guns, planes, ships and such other paraphernalia but also the *will to fight*. The most precious and the all important factor which is known as the "people's morale" is very essential for any nation for accomplishing its objectives. Therefore the two fundamental elements necessary to win a modern war are armaments and morale. In order to keep up the morale of the people, the most important thing that has to be tackled and eliminated is the fifth column activities. Discontent in itself is sufficient to create and breed pro-enemy feelings. Therefore social work has to detect and expose the internal enemies of the State, and also eliminate completely the causes that provide a basis for the creation of such feelings in the worker. To fight this ugly menace it is necessary to put into

action a counteracting programme. Pamphlets, clearly defining the causes for which the fight is begun and is being carried on and the necessity of victory and what it will mean to us, should be widely distributed among the workers from time to time in addition to the organisation of meetings, talks, lectures with slides and news reels mainly for the benefit of the workers. Radio broadcasts on the lines suggested above should be given and facilities for workers to hear them should be provided through the installation of receiving sets and megaphones in the localities predominantly occupied by labour. The value and importance of the 'publicity for morale' in these days need not be over-emphasised.

The present warfare is essentially a mechanised one. To meet the demands of the front it is essential to speed up the industries and keep them going without interruption. Not only the individual worker, but the cultivator too should be helped to be on the alert and to contribute his full share to the success of the nation by keeping the production level at the maximum. To this end it is very imperative to satisfy the essential needs of the industrial worker as well as those of the cultivator. The primary needs consist of food, protection, clothing, shelter and basic education. The soaring wartime prices demand the provision of grains at the minimum rates to the workers who are living in the cities and towns of industrial importance by the opening of cost price grain shops, and the payment of maximum price to the producers through Co-operative Societies. The middle-man should be guarded against as much as possible from fleecing both the producer and the consumer. Another danger which the State should warily avoid is that of inflation. Next in order of importance comes the question of housing. This problem in our industrial towns and cities is so pressing that the State cannot afford to tarry any longer as an idle spectator without taking immediate steps for its solution.

It is absolutely essential to provide the workers the necessities of life so as to enable them both to have faith in what they are fighting for and keep up their fighting heart. It is high time to stop our attempts to win the people merely by broadcasts on the advantages of any democratic form of Government or by nicely polished and sugar-coated slogans; the time has come to put all these creeds into action so that people may feel that they are a part of a State which exists for the people who toil incessantly to preserve it. It must be realised that hunger and unemployment can wreck a nation just as cannons and bombs. Therefore it is of the utmost importance to satisfy the primary needs of the worker first, and the quicker it is done the better it is for the nation. Lord Bevin, Minister of Labour in Great Britain, is reported to have stated that the British Public Social Services, as developed in the last quarter of the century, have had as much to do with the preservation of England in

these days as the gallantry of the R.A.F. This statement proves to the hilt what is contended for in the foregoing paragraphs. It is obligatory on the part of the State and private social service agencies to pool together all the resources at their disposal and help not only in providing suitable social amenities but in improving the living conditions of the workers.

Modern wars differ fundamentally from the past ones in that they are essentially mechanised, and the enemy is engaged more in spoiling the morale of the people constituting the nation than in overcoming the army at the frontiers. Energies of the enemy are largely directed towards weakening the 'fighting heart' of the people. For the sake of convenience we may say that at the present there are two major fronts, namely the home front and the army front. They may be better styled as social frontiers and geographical frontiers respectively. It is as important to preserve the morale in the home front, as it is necessary to maintain it in the army. Therefore, it is all the more necessary for tried and experienced social workers to constitute the fighting forces on social frontiers.

On the home front we are concerned in this article with industrial labour as distinguished from agricultural labour. Industries, on the preservation and continuation of which warfare so much rests, are entirely dependent on workers. In order to make them stick to their jobs in mills and factories the industrial workers should be given decidedly better treatment and amenities than what has hitherto been possible.

In this country most of the industrial workers are agriculturists, who migrate to the cities of industrial importance to improve their prospects. This change from a rural to an industrial environment produces an unfavourable effect on their health. Transfer to large industrial centres with confined and strange working conditions, crowded insanitary dwellings and the absence of outdoor recreation demands a reorganization of life which renders them liable to illness and diseases of all kinds. This situation makes it all the more necessary to improve their working and living conditions. A good programme of welfare facilities will result ultimately not only in increasing the efficiency of the worker but also in preventing the interruption of industrial activity by strikes. By far the most important result of welfare work or ameliorative measures with reference to the present crisis will be the will to win.

II

Welfare work : Its aims and objects.—Industries, especially during war-time, constitute the back-bone of the State. As a wartime measure economy is exercised in every sphere of State activity, and anything that accelerates production with the least possible expenditure may be considered to come

within the purview of war economy. An unbiassed consideration of the achievements of Welfare work in the West cannot but lead us to the conclusion that it is essential and imperative to introduce and expand welfare activities in all our industries and in the areas where workers live. Welfare work, among other things, will keep labour well contented and happy, and indirectly result in increased productive capacity.

The aims of welfare work in short are : (i) humanitarian since its purpose is to enable the workers to enjoy a richer and fuller life; (ii) partly economic in that it is meant to improve the efficiency of labour, to increase its availability where it is scarce, to secure a better class of workers and to keep them contented so as to minimise the inducement to resort to strikes and take direct action; and (iii) partly civic in that it aims to develop a sense of responsibility and dignity among workers, and thus pave the way to their becoming independent minded and useful citizens by providing them with adequate recreational, technical and educational facilities.

The origin of welfare work in India may be traced to the last war. Till then welfare of the worker was hardly thought of owing to the ignorance and apathy of the worker himself, the short-sightedness of employers, the neglect of the State and the indifference of the public. But, since the first world war, despite continued economic depression, it has been expanding steadily. Government as well as the industrialists were constrained to take active interest in welfare work partly through the pressure brought to bear on them by the I. L. O. and partly due to the discontent and industrial unrest prevalent in the country. Though our welfare work is still considerably below the standards set up in the West, it has come to stay, and it is bound to make rapid progress in the years to come.

The first fact to be faced squarely with reference to the development of welfare work is that traditionally trade unions eye all such schemes and programmes with suspicion and even with antagonism. Their charges in this respect are not without justifiable grounds. Labour had seen social work develop out of the womb of feudal charity. They had seen the rising class of merchants and industrialists joining hands with the aristocracy as superiors throwing crumbs to their inferiors in a patronizing spirit. The volunteer "friendly visitors" recruited largely from the well-to-do classes increased their suspicions. But now their replacement by paid and professionally trained social workers has helped to a large extent to break the barriers that had for long existed between labour and capital. It is gratifying to note that social work is coming to be recognized as labour's loyal and most valuable ally in its fight for better conditions.

However, the future trends in the relationship between labour and social

work will naturally be determined by the progress and outcome of the war. In the meanwhile, there are some serious obstacles which should be overcome as early as possible in the interest of a closer and effective partnership which is of the utmost importance to win the war. The main obstacles which come in the way of co-operation and co-ordination between the State, employers and employees are those of mutual fears and suspicions, doubts about one another's bona fides. Social workers alone can bring about harmony by promoting better understanding between the three classes. Hitherto labour unions, which are supposed to represent labour and speak on its behalf, were under the impression that social workers wanted to usurp their acknowledged place of authority and hence looked upon them with suspicion. It is therefore the duty of trained social workers, who are unfortunately so few and far between, to clear up such misunderstanding and work selflessly for the promotion of goodwill, co-operation and labour welfare.

Welfare work is the greatest need of the hour. It is the connecting link between the State, labour and capital. It is in the interest of the State at this juncture to hasten welfare measures with the utmost speed. It must take the lead in providing ameliorative measures which may be classified under four broad heads, viz:—(i) Safety, (ii) Education, (iii) Health, and (iv) Recreation of the worker. The term 'welfare' covers a wide field and the welfare programme needs must embrace many items of vital importance, a few of which only can be enumerated within the space of the present article.

Safety of the Worker.—Self-preservation is of primary importance in the life of man. It is absolutely essential to convince workers (who are engaged in production work in cities which are liable to be exposed to enemy action) that plans are ready to move them to relatively safer places if and when they are exposed to danger. Government should also secure the co-operation of other groups and social service agencies in developing schemes for evacuation of workers should that become necessary. The basic responsibility for safety and relief should be assumed by the State in these times of uncertainty. Second in order of importance come the A.R.P. measures. First of all measures securing utmost safety of the workers in times of air raids should be taken. Such measures should embody the provision of bomb-proof shelters safe in quality and sufficient in numbers. Added to these measures the workers for whose benefit such measures are taken should be given adequate training as to their behaviour during raids. The rate of accidents in mills and factories which is very high should be brought down through the reduction of hours of work, better lighting of factories (especially in ginning factories), strict instruction to the mill staff to teach safety measures to inexperienced and ignorant workers, to fence

dangerous machinery, and instruct workers in safety through methods which may include the exhibitions of posters, charts, films, etc. Frequently accidents occur in India due to the ignorance of the newly recruited persons who are unacquainted with factory life and the use of machinery.

Education.—The Indian industrial worker is known for his ignorance. His illiteracy is the main reason for his being led blindly by the so-called 'leaders' who exploit labour to attain their private ends. A fairly good number of illegal strikes are due to the workers' ignorance and lack of judgment. It is in the interest of labour itself that illiteracy should be liquidated. To this end should be directed what are called constructive community services, which embrace education, public health, medical relief, welfare of the handicapped, mental health, and employment services. Adult education classes should be conducted in the first instance and thereafter a number of centres, where post-literacy classes are conducted, should be opened to prevent the workers from relapsing into illiteracy. In conjunction with these programmes it is also necessary to have the welfare of the labourers' children and dependants in mind. Free primary schools should be opened in localities inhabited by them. When mothers are at work in the mills, creches should be provided for their infants and they should be looked after by qualified nurses. Nursery schools should be opened for the benefit of children of pre-school age. Mid-day meals should be supplied to these children by the employers. Inasmuch as children constitute the wealth of the nation and without them the next generation will become extinct, it is in the interest of the State to protect children from bombs, under-nourishment, disease, inadequate housing and ignorance.

Health.—To keep the morale of workers as well as to preserve industrial peace, it is essential to give them the 'kind and amount of food necessary for strength and health'. Hunger and undernourishment do not make for strong defence. Hence to ensure the health of the workers, good food and certain amount of facilities for recreation should be made available to them. Social insurance services—health and employment insurance, contributory provident funds, non-contributory old age pensions and unemployment assistance—should be set working in full swing. When the Western countries have made a success of these schemes, it is needless to argue that in India these schemes are not feasible owing to the difficulties caused by the migratory habits of the workers, their unwillingness and inability to bear even a part of the cost of insurance, the heavy expenses of administration, etc. In the West, the State undertakes this function as its own concern. Similarly, our Government should also view it as its duty to help such schemes by financing them to a considerable extent in the initial stages.

The question of industrial housing is not any less important. It is said that workmen in India have worse accommodation than cattle, especially in industrial cities. In Bombay it is estimated that two-thirds of its population lives in single rooms with an average of four persons in each. A number of families living together in a single tenement is not an uncommon practice with mill workers. In a few cases as many as six families with a total number of 30 persons were found to live in single rooms measuring about 15'×12'. Despite the efforts of some municipalities, mill-owners and private agencies to solve this problem, only its fringe has been touched so far. The Royal Commission on Labour suggested that a survey of the housing requirements of industrial areas should be made by each Provincial Government. It also recommended legislative and administrative action both by Central and Provincial Governments, as also administrative action by public bodies, municipalities, important trusts, and by employers and labour organisations. The recommendations under the first head included a suggestion to amend the Land Acquisition Act in such a way as to enable owners of industrial concerns to acquire land for the erection of workers' dwellings.

Better housing facilities should be provided by the State and the Municipalities. The State should advance adequate capital in the initial stages for the promotion of Housing Societies amongst industrial workers. As far as possible low interest rates may be charged and the amount loaned be made payable in small monthly instalments in such a way as to subordinate the motive of profit to social usefulness.

Recreation.—The development of recreation and constructive use of leisure time is as much a responsibility of the State as education and public health. The State should therefore take the lead in providing public recreational facilities and other services essential to the well-being of workers and their dependants.

In addition to the help given by the State, the physical, moral and intellectual uplift of the worker can be promoted partly by the worker himself and partly by the employer. But, as labour constitutes the wealth of the State, the greater burden of responsibility for improving its lot should be owned and shouldered by the State. As the worker himself is ignorant, it is no use blaming him for his degradation, indifference and backwardness. He must be educated first and induced to lead a better, healthier and richer life.

In this respect attention should in the first place be given to the environment of the worker, the temperature of the factory, its ventilation, lighting, drainage and general cleanliness. Various safeguards for protecting his health should be provided. His comfort should receive utmost consideration by the provision of mess rooms and facilities for getting food and refresh-

ments, rest rooms and lavatories and bathrooms. Creches should be provided for the infants and children of women workers.

In order to counteract the evil effects of stuffy atmosphere and congestion within the mills and factories, the workers should be provided with amenities which will enable them to maintain good health and enjoy it. Facilities for physical and mental recreation should be provided. Canteens should be started in every mill and factory where wholesome food stuff at almost cost price should be made available to them. Indoor games as well as outdoor games should be provided. Recreation clubs should be formed and playing fields should be provided with facilities to participate in outdoor games. Wrestling, indigenous games and open air sports should be encouraged.

While paying attention to physical activities, the mental development of the worker should not be neglected. He should be educated, and reading rooms and libraries should be provided to acquaint himself with labour movements and world news. Dramatic, musical and other such clubs may be organized to stimulate his aesthetic interests. Labour in Western countries is endowed with talents of a varied nature and Indian labour does not lack these potentialities in any respect.

As in the West, so also in India public employment exchanges should be set up. In the first place such agencies will help in solving the difficulty of non-availability of labour in certain places and at the same time help in finding employment, thus minimizing their aimless migration to different places in search of work.

Exhibitions should be arranged periodically in the localities thickly inhabited by labour wherein models, posters and charts, dealing with health matters, local conditions, nourishment and other topics of interest, should be displayed. The need for adult education in these directions cannot be overstressed.

In addition to the four broad items of welfare work as already indicated above, the whole scheme must cover the provisions of good conditions in regard to ventilation, lighting, cleanliness and sanitation, the prevention of fatigue by devices such as rest pauses, change of work or provision of seats, the prevention of accidents, medical supervision, pension, thrift-schemes, holiday arrangements, transport to and from the works, provision of mess rooms, canteens, first aid appliances or provision of protective clothing, legal aid and facilities for writing letters. This may be further broadened, to include the selection and training of workers as well as measures for the welfare of the workers in the narrow sense. Care should, however, be taken to avoid small pitfalls, such as interference with private affairs of individuals,

in the organisation of welfare schemes; the management should never dictate as to how employees are to use their leisure. Lastly, it is to be emphasised that no amount of welfare work will compensate for low wages and economic insecurity.

Welfare Work in Wartime China.—It may not be out of place here to turn our attention to the achievement of an Eastern nation in the sphere of social welfare in wartime. Though China is engaged in a grim life and death struggle for the sake of her very existence, she is launching forth schemes after schemes of welfare work for ameliorating the conditions of her working people. The important aspect of the measures launched under the auspices of China's Ministry of Social Affairs has been the promotion of labour organisation. The main achievements of the Ministry are in the field of providing guidance to important movements, such as the National Spiritual Mobilisation Movement, the New Life Movement, the Thrift Movement and the issue of the regulation encouraging members of professions and crafts to join guilds composed of their professional brothers and fellow crafts-men. The social welfare of the people, especially of the workers, have not been allowed to suffer. This field covers social insurance, social service, labour welfare, child welfare and vocational guidance.

Owing to the limited funds and trained personnel at its disposal the Government of China is constrained to encourage and guide private institutions already functioning by grant of annuities and other facilities. The welfare of workmen has been further prompted by requiring factories and other concerns to run clinics, schools, tiffin rooms, and dormitories for their employees. The Factory Inspection Law has been enforced smoothly and the new Ministry is demanding the right to inspect mines.

The most important of the measures is the setting up of service stations in important cities. These offer (i) cultural service through reading rooms and libraries; (ii) economic service through the grant of small loans; (ii) every day life service through mail boxes, information desks, travel assistance, hostels and dining rooms, and (iv) employment bureau. The Ministry is also in charge of Co-operative societies and is stressing their social value and their relation to every day life of the people. The result of this measure is not only that the societies increased in numbers but their membership shot up; more significant than the increase in figures is the fact that whereas formerly nearly all the societies were Co-operative Credit Societies now more than ten per cent of these are Producers' Societies and two per cent Consumers' and Distributors' societies.

III

State Labour Welfare Work in India.—This article will be incomplete without a short account of welfare work that is being done in our country. Since the last war, discontent and industrial unrest has been a common feature of our economic activity. This situation has forced an increasing number of employers to take a long view of their interests and responsibilities. Of late Government too has been compelled to take an active interest in welfare work. The Governments of Bengal and Sind are conducting welfare activities on lines similar to those adopted by Bombay and U.P. Over fifteen Welfare Centres have been opened in Calcutta and Howrah, and two at Karachi. In addition, the Government of Bengal have established Local Advisory Committees to assist the Labour Department in the administration of the Centres. The U. P. and Bombay Provincial Governments lighted the torch, rather blazed the trail, in initiating welfare work in their respective Provinces. Welfare schemes are at present under the consideration of several other Provincial Governments.

The Bombay Government has set up a special Department known as the Labour Welfare Department which is under the control of the Commissioner of Labour. This Department is entrusted with the work of providing amenities to labour in general and industrial labour in particular in cities and towns of industrial importance in the province.

Welfare work is conducted in this province through the medium of welfare centres which for the sake of convenience have been divided into several categories. Indoor and outdoor games both of English and Indian type, gymnastic activities, shower bath facilities, play-grounds for children, reading rooms and library facilities, nursery schools, literacy classes, cinema shows, epidiascope and magic lantern shows are some of the features. Additional activities include exhibitions, Bhajan parties, dramas, matches, picnics, excursions and outings.

Attempts are also made to strengthen the technical knowledge of the worker by this Department. An Industrial Training Workshop is functioning under the auspices of this Department to give additional training to the worker so as to increase his technical knowledge and also to liquidate unemployment among industrial workers. Trained and experienced staff is in charge of this programme. Day and night classes are conducted so as to impart whole-time and part-time instructions. The latter makes it possible for even those who are employed to receive training in this Workshop. Women and girls receive special attention. Literacy classes, sewing classes, games, sports, nursery classes, reading room and library activities are conducted exclusively for the benefit of women and girls who attend the welfare

centres. Cinema and magic lantern shows are also conducted during the day time for their benefit.

Special nature cure dispensaries are set up at some of the Centres to provide medical aid free of cost to the workers by qualified and experienced medical men. Stress is laid on natural ways of cure by the administration of bio-chemic salts.

This Labour Welfare Department was set up by the Congress Ministry on or about the 1st January 1939 with Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, the then Parliamentary Secretary, as its Controlling Officer under the designation of Honorary Commissioner for Amenities to Industrial Labour. Since the resignation of the Congress Ministers, the Bombay Government has not only allowed the Department to stand but also encouraged its expansion by extending its activities to other cities and towns in the province. The Department is in a state of evolution. At present welfare centres are functioning in the cities of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur and the town of Hubli. The attendance at the centres goes to show that the need of such ameliorative measures is greatly appreciated by the working class people.

It is very difficult to dwell at length within the ambit of this brief article on the details of welfare work that should be included as an item of war economy. It is encouraging to note that the Government of India in recognition of the importance of labour welfare, has appointed a Labour Welfare Adviser to advise the Government on matters relating to the welfare of labour. Under the head 'Social Welfare' comes the eight newly appointed Labour Welfare Officers working under the Labour Welfare Adviser to the Government of India. They are expected to deputize for him in the eight areas into which the country has been divided, to supervise the amelioration measures within their jurisdiction and report on the nature and extent of welfare measures that are to be undertaken for the betterment of industrial labour. Instructions have been given to them in regard to the Central Government's labour welfare organization, labour legislation, the nature of labour problems that arise in the industrial areas and problems relating to A. R. P. and the supply of cheap foodstuff to workers. These men, who were selected on party lines, were given a week's training in Delhi. Obviously, neither the method of selection nor the type of training is sound. Naturally, one would expect young men, who are entrusted with this responsible and important task, to possess the requisite qualifications, training and experience to carry on the work in the proper spirit and correct perspective—qualities which are so essential for the success of labour welfare work in India. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work is the only institution in India which provides an adequate

professional education for all types of social work, and that, in the interest of labour, it will be worthwhile to make use of men trained by this School.

Achievements of the Government of India.—Before concluding the article, it is necessary to give a bird's eye view of the achievement of the Government of India in the domain of labour welfare during recent times. The Labour Member recently in a press conference gave a brief summary of the action taken in this direction. He stated that the Government of India has been providing facilities for the training of a great number of trained technicians and has introduced certain new and beneficent principles such as compulsory arbitration between employers and labour, and enforcement of fair wages and conditions of services which formed an essential part of recent necessarily restrictive wartime legislation relating to labour and which, he was confident, would survive and be amplified in post-war legislation.

As regards the training, the Labour Member referred to the Bevin Scheme and said that altogether 250 boys in five batches had been sent to England and the sixth was on its way. Of those trained under this scheme, 140 have returned to India and 135 of them had already been posted in various factories and workshops. Besides the Bevin Scheme, the Technical Training Scheme started in July 1940 with the initial object of producing 3,000 semi-skilled tradesmen had by now expanded so much that the total number of trainees would be 70,000 by June 1943. Some 380 training centres under this scheme are working at present in the whole of India with a total training capacity of 45,000 trainees.

Regarding the second point, namely, legislation, the Labour Member said that the Government of India had introduced two new basic principles in its labour code. They are the principles of compulsory arbitration and enforcement of arbitration awards. Two ordinances embodying the above principles have been promulgated which debar persons from leaving their job and enable Government to transfer certain percentage of labour from one industry to another. They also empower the Government to prescribe wages and conditions of service where these restrictive provisions are enforced.

Under the third and the last point of observation, viz. labour welfare, the Labour Member referred to the opening of cost price grain shops and said that Government has the power to secure stocks of grain for labour in an emergency. It had undertaken A. R. P. measures both in factories under Government control and in others, and had also accepted the definite principle of a flat rate instead of a percentage rate in giving relief against dearness so that those who get the minimum pay may get the maximum benefit.

Nevertheless, the measures adopted by the Government of India in this direction fall far short of the required standard to alleviate the conditions of

labour and much below the standard prevailing in the Western democratic countries. Albeit, it is gratifying to note that the Government of India has realised the importance of welfare programmes as a measure of war economy. Reasons abound which go to show that the measures already set afoot may be considered to be a preliminary step to the introduction of legislative measures which may make welfare work compulsory in all factories and mills in the near future.

The one most important step the Government of India should undertake in the interest of labour is to devise ways and means to achieve the unity of Indian labour. At present, parties—Independent Labour Party, Red Flag Union, Indian Federation of Labour, All-India Trade Union Congress, to mention only a few—abound in India. In addition, there are many others which are supposed to represent various industries and vocations. The more valuable thing required at this hour of crisis is unity. Unity among labour on an all India basis should be achieved at all costs.

Recently, the Commissioner of Labour to the Government of Bombay sent a circular letter to all mills and factories with a request that the nature and extent of welfare activities carried out by individual concerns should be communicated to him. The letter mentions in clear terms that problems like the maintenance of the stability of labour in industrial concerns have been the main concern of the Government of India. With a view to achieving it, it is mentioned that adequate provision for welfare measures to show that the management is taking steps to ensure that labour is well looked after in any emergency that may arise, should be taken. The measures that are recommended by Government in short are : (i) the opening of cost price grain shops, (ii) the collection of adequate stocks of grain to ensure supplies in any emergency, (iii) the provision of canteens, (iv) facilities for remitting allowances to families, and (v) any other ameliorative measures that would be likely to have a beneficial effect on labour. The replies to the said circular letter will enable Government to assess the nature and extent of welfare work that is prevalent at present, and to advise regarding further improvements and initiation of welfare activities.

It is high time that the Government of India adopts the conventions prescribed by the International Labour Conference and brings about legislation so as to be in line with the Western democracies. Legislation regarding the provision of welfare work is the need of the hour. Positive evils such as drink, gambling and other vices should be put an end to. It is in these fields that welfare work is capable of eradicating such social evils and vices that have been the cause of our labour's poverty and degradation. It is also the duty of the State to do something in the matter. The theory of the greatest

happiness of the greatest number applied to this problem would mean that the State should undertake labour welfare work as one of its proper functions because workers, whether industrial or agricultural, constitute more than nine-tenths of the population of this country.

After all legislation alone is not the sole remedy for the salvation of industry. In the words of Mr. Butler 'What is required is the realisation on the part of the State, the employers and the public that human rights of the workers to live (and not merely to exist in hovels) have a claim upon society and that if this claim is not conceded in time we will have neither justice nor social peace, and the alternative will be revolution instead of evolution.'

Fortunately for us we see signs which are favourable to the evolution of a better economic order. The rising tide of mass consciousness, the growing sympathy of the progressive employers for labour and the increasing recognition of the rights of workers by the State are all factors which are bound to bring about a better relationship between labour and capital. Welfare work, over and above saving labour from physical breakdown and overstrain, result in enhanced production. The Government as well as the enlightened employers are coming to recognise the value of accomplishing this double objective by a single measure. The problem of giving effect to it has been engaging the attention of the Government of India for some time past, and questions of welfare work have recently been brought within its purview. This is a welcome change brought about by war conditions. The exigencies of the present crisis, the steep rise in prices of the essential commodities, the increased hours of labour, and rapidly changing political and economic conditions—all demand in unequivocal terms the provision of suitable social amenities for the workers in a concrete form to enable them to live a richer and more abundant life as members of an equitable society. It is encouraging that the State is beginning to recognise its responsibilities for their welfare. It is to be hoped that most of the progressive measures adopted to promote the economic and social advancement of labour during the war would become a permanent feature of the workers' life after the war.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

MISS K. H. CAMA

In this interesting article the psychological differences of violence and non-violence are clearly dealt with. The author believes that non-violence at its highest level constitutes a very high stage of human behaviour in that it represents the expansion of the self to embrace the adversary. Dr. Cama maintains that as man grows more mature and reaches this higher level of integration, the creed of non-violence will become universally accepted.

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THE use of resistance of a non-violent nature in gaining ends, either individual or collective, is of far more wide-spread occurrence and much more familiar to our everyday experience than we realize. It is probably older than civilization itself and a part of the personal experience of almost every individual. It is extremely varied in its form and application and in its psychological mode of operation. It may seem a far cry from the proverbial stubborn mule that sits calmly down on its haunches refusing to pull the over-heavy load up the hill, to Golgotha and the crucified Jesus—yet each is an example of non-violent resistance.

Non-violent resistance in the form of non-cooperation is familiar, indeed almost commonplace. Less than three quarters of a century ago the American author, Henry David Thoreau said : “If a thousand men were not to pay their tax bills this year, that would not be a violent or bloody measure, as it would be to pay them and (thereby) enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood. This is, in fact, the definition of a peaceful revolution, if any such is possible.” And again, “If the tax gatherer or any other public officer asks me, ‘But what shall I do?’ my answer is : ‘If you really wish to do anything, resign your office.’ When the subject has refused allegiance and the officer has resigned his office, then the revolution is completed.” From this it is clear that the movement of non-violent resistance is primarily a strategem possessing a practical value irrespective of any moral or religious element. A little careful consideration will show that it is not something new and startling set apart from the common fabric or experience, but is, in fact, very much interwoven with the warp and woof of that fabric. It is part of the dynamic process of life itself, and it is difficult, often impossible, to say where any factor entering into non-violence begins. Its motivations and results may be identical with those of violent resistance—fear, selfishness and destruction, even of life itself—on the one hand, and singleness of purpose, devotion and self-sacrifice on the other.

Similarly the deep spiritual motivations and practices inherent in the non-violent movement of Gandhi are neither new nor startling, nor are they, as has been assumed, completely contrary to human nature, but are, in fact, merely extensions and intensifications of motives and experiences common to every human life. The only real distinction between violent and non-violent resistance lies in the psychological level of functioning, the latter being a higher more complex integration, the former a more direct, impulsive and primitive one. The same holds true of the distinction between simple non-co-operation as a stratagem and non-violence as a spiritual force.

The success of a non-violent resistance is dependent, except under certain peculiar conditions, upon the fundamental social necessity of co-operation. Every gain to the exploiter of an individual or group depends in the last analysis upon that individual's or group's co-operation with the exploiter—its *active* acceptance, however unwilling, of the demands placed upon it. True non-violence must by virtue of this fact ultimately triumph over any show of force opposed to it, since force carried to its conclusion could only serve to annihilate the individual or group thus rendering the original purpose of the exploiter impossible of attainment. Furthermore, non-violent resistance is the only defence which every individual or group has at its command under all circumstances, providing, of course, that it is capable of exercising the requisite courage, control and endurance. The individual within the group may suffer or die, but the group must ultimately triumph, logically and inevitably, if its continued existence is of value and significance to its adversary.

This is purely a tactical problem, a question of relative power and endurance, and does not, in itself, involve any moral or religious issue. Its effective practice by any given individual or group depends upon individual or group discipline, self-control, fortitude, restraint and self-sacrifice, often greater than that demanded in war, and inspired by the intellectual conviction or emotional faith (in the leadership) that it is the one method by means of which the desired object or end may be gained.

Non-Violence in the form of non-cooperation is the essential element in every strike, although elements of violence frequently enter into strikes on the part of the strikers as well as in the form of police and militia attacks. But this element of violence exists because the strikers have not truly understood and mastered the psychology of non-violence and have failed to grasp fully the principles upon which the strike evolved. Non-violence may be conceived of as applying to any form of destructive physical force—even the subtle psychic, emotional and spiritual forces—or may be limited to the destruction of human life or the inflicting of bodily injury.

Violence is primitive, impulsive, dependent for its success upon the

inflicting of pain, suffering or death upon the antagonist or upon the destruction of his material possessions. When violence is opposed to violence, victory goes to the commander of superior physical power either of muscle or of the machinery of destruction. It triumphs through the fear it engenders first for life and secondly for material possessions. It is quite true, however, that non-violent resistance may arouse fear just as great, if not of death, at least of the loss of material advantages and privileges. Non-cooperation under certain conditions may even lead to desperate fear for life itself through the economic pressure employed. (Sometimes fear of loss of material resources, starvation etc.) The factory owner yields to the demands of the strikers because he is afraid of losing the wealth gained by the continued operation of his plant for which he must have workers, and not because he is convinced of the justice of the strikers' cause. Economic boycott operates in the same fashion. Thus in simple non-violent resistance a victory is won in precisely the same way as in the case of violent resistance—a superior show of force, though the power is of another order.

The animal (and man) usually reacts to the complex situation arousing fear by flight or fight. Fight is ordinarily a display of muscular power, of inflicting pain, injury or destruction upon the object of attack and endangering its well-being or its life. If it lacks this power it seeks escape in flight: running away, hiding or simulating death and various other ruses.

The physiological mechanism controlling the release of adrenalin into the blood stream, making possible more rapid and effective motor activity, is so deep rooted as to be almost completely independent of the will. Adrenalin is poured into the blood stream in relatively larger quantities immediately the animal is confronted by a dangerous situation. The arterial walls are constricted, the heart beats more rapidly, the stored sugar in the body is made available for immediate consumption in muscular activity. The animal is able to run away or to fight. All this is accompanied by the emotions of fear, anger or rage, depending upon the situation. Whether the fear or anger is produced by the increased adrenalin supply, or vice versa, or whether both are coincidental merely, is not adequately demonstrated. These emotions are, however, extremely fundamental and important to survival and the associated impulsive behaviour of fight and flight are the most natural, primitive and simple responses to danger. The amoeba, when it withdraws from a drop of irritating acid, is employing the simplest possible type of defence. A little further up the phylogenetic scale the organism devours and digests its enemy, or imprisons it within a protective cyst in its own body as does the oyster with the grain of sand or other foreign matter. But as intelligence develops or emerges in the species, these processes become more

indirect and controlled. When a man is driving a car and another car suddenly appears from a side road, his adrenals immediately flood his blood stream with adrenalin. Fear and anger are aroused in him. But he does not drive his car furiously into the offending automobile, nor does he jump out and try to run away. He goes through a very complex process of applying brakes, shutting off the gas and changing his direction, or, if judgment so indicates, he speeds up and passes by safely. Only the perfect fool—and there have been such !—would act otherwise. This instance may seem rather far-fetched, none the less precisely the same type of response occurs where the organism reacts with an integration inadequate to the particular gestalt. Similarly, the prisoner may employ such indirect methods and controls by going on a hunger strike, instead of, as his more primitive cell mate, attacking the guard or making futile efforts at escape.

Non-violent resistance demands one complete subjection and control of these primitive reactions of fight and flight by the use of intelligence and sustained purpose. We might, therefore, say that non-violent resistance will be the most successful defence—or attack—under two essential conditions :

1. The members of the group must be capable of courage, fortitude, self-restraint and sustained purpose necessary to reduce their adversary to a complete submission to their demands. (For example, if the Indian movement had really carried out complete non-cooperation in all fields and were sustained at the peak of national enthusiasm the economic pressure created alone would, no doubt, have achieved its end.)

2. The continued existence of the group (or individual) is of essential value to the antagonist. (To illustrate, India without its population would be immeasurably less valuable to the British.)

In short non-violent resistance in its simpler forms is psychologically dependent solely upon a complete rational control of the bodily impulses, because of the conviction that this course of action alone must bring the desired results. This *rational* element seems to be limited largely to the leaders, the rest of the group submitting to this discipline and sacrifice through an emotional conviction arising out of faith in their leaders.

Though sporadic outbursts of violence frequently occur in some non-violent movements, the maintenance of the *discipline* of non-violence in a non-cooperation movement is of the utmost importance as violence has been rejected as strategically undesirable because of the adversary's superior strength of arms. Consequently, a lapse into violence on the part of the non-violent resister tends to break down his morale. Further, if the morale of the group is not sustained at a high level, it may easily degenerate into the more impulsive violent acts characteristic of a lower level of integration.

Violence inevitably results in counter-violence and the vicious cycle of eternal retaliation is set up.

From this we pass on to a type of non-violent resistance in which non-injury becomes in itself a moral goal. Such types as we have considered depend for their success primarily upon non-cooperation, non-violence being more or less incidental to the general aim. In this type, however, non-violence becomes a power and an end in itself,—a force, a moral and spiritual compulsion, almost akin to Eastern Asceticism. By asceticism is not meant the sadly misconceived notion of morbid self-denial and pessimistic renunciation, but the ideal of self-discipline which becomes a joy in itself. As G. K. Chesterton very ably put it, "Asceticism is a thing which, in its very nature, we tend in these days to misunderstand. Asceticism, in the religious sense, is the repudiation of the great mass of human joys because of the supreme joyfulness of the one joy, the religious joy. But asceticism is not in the least confined to religious asceticism: there is scientific asceticism which asserts that truth is alone satisfying: there is aesthetic asceticism which asserts that art alone is satisfying; there is amatory asceticism which asserts that love alone is satisfying. There is even epicurean asceticism which asserts that beer and skittles are alone satisfying. Wherever the manner of praising anything involves the statement that the speaker could live with that thing alone, there lies the germ and essence of asceticism." In extreme cases of this kind the resisting group or individual is withholding nothing but asking recognition of a principle of truth or justice. Certain cases of picketing are of this nature. This moral principle in non-violence is of immeasurably deeper significance than the simple stratagem. It involves the concepts of love and self-renunciation in the absolute sense. It appeals to all that is highest in man, calling forth the highest possible integration, physically, psychologically and spiritually.

Love and self-renunciation are not limited to non-violent movements. They enter, in a restricted sense, into warfare. Indeed, love of country and self-sacrifice have been the lauded virtues of the soldier throughout the ages. Consider, for example, the fanatical, self-sacrificing devotion of the crusaders, or the equally great love and self-renunciation behind the Samurai spirit of Japan. Non-violent movements may involve these motives of love and self-sacrifice even when the ends are narrow group interests without regard to the needs or even rights of the opponents. Even the individual who suffers abuse and perhaps death in the course of the campaign may, in a sense, be said to be acting "selfishly" in so far as his feeling of "self" is identified with his group (Gestalt conception).

Nearly all the cases we have ever known have been narrow and limited

in the sense that the love these individuals felt was for a narrow group, class or nation. History, however, is not barren of examples of individual cases where a man's life was attuned to a great love for all humanity, for all living things, for a great universal truth, for God. Indeed, the lives whose memories live longest and are dearest to our hearts are such as these. Consider, the death of Jesus on the Cross, the life of St. Francis of Assisi, the sacrifice of Nogouchi giving his life in the conquest of yellow fever.

The Indian non-violence movement is unique in that it bases its activity upon a complex of these types of behaviour. It is in part self-interested non-cooperation entailing, at least indirectly, hardship and suffering upon the British—certainly upon the mill-workers of Manchester, for example. It seeks the economic advantages and liberation of the Indian masses, which produces a temporary economic disadvantage to the English as well as to certain native exploiters. It is, of course, not wholly free from bitter hatred of the British here and there among its followers, but non-violent resistance when practised at the highest level of integration is, what Gandhi calls, "an experiment in love". He says, "Love is the strongest force the world possesses, and yet it is the humblest imaginable I hold myself to be incapable of hating any being on earth. By a long course of prayerful discipline I have ceased for over forty years to hate anybody Mine is not an exclusive love. I cannot love Mussulmans or Hindus and hate Englishmen; for, if I merely love Hindus and Mussulmans because their ways are on the whole pleasing to me, I shall soon begin to hate them when their ways displease me, as they may well do any moment. A love that is based on the goodness of those you love is a mercenary affair, whereas true love is self-effacing and demands no consideration." In consonance with this doctrine, Gandhi and others among the leaders have inspired the masses with a tremendous leaven of true universal love, with the idea that self is unimportant beside the great principle of truth. All this has awakened an inner dignity, courage and nobility of manhood in the people of India which cannot easily die.

C. F. Andrews conversing with a friend who violently attacked the whole movement, asked a simple question : "Does the Indian villager today stand up to the Englishman more fearlessly than before ? Has he become less afraid of the Government official, of the landowner, and of the police?" The friend paused suddenly, as if a new thought had struck him for the first time.

"You're right," he said, "I never thought of that. Of course there is no comparison. The villager looks every man in the face to-day."

The psychology of this remarkable growth of personality within the individuals of the group engaged in spiritual non-violent resistance is of the utmost importance to human welfare and education.

Briefly the chief factors are :—

1. The sense of satisfaction, dignity and power in an individual arising out of any purposive self-control and discipline.
2. The sense of strength and enlargement of self which arises from being one with a strong unified group.
3. The feeling of power and self-respect from identification of oneself with a great good, and being in the service of truth and justice.

To understand more clearly the working of non-violent resistance in its psychological aspect, let us take a homely example.

Every mother has had to deal with the temper tantrums which seems a part of the normal development of young children. We are familiar with three typical reactions on the part of the mother.

She may react on the same level behaviour as the child. His temper arouses anger in the mother. His kicking and screaming is met by blows, and abusive scolding and punishment. The mother wins for the moment because she is five times as large and much stronger physically, and because the child is economically, physically and emotionally dependent on her. But in his own consciousness the feeling of violence is strengthened. He bides his time, endures only to grow stronger. Deeply rooted in the habit-pattern of his tissues is the feeling that his mother is an enemy. Such a child may easily grow into the adolescent bully, the man who bluffs and fights his way through life, knowing no right but might. Or, he may resort to the scheming and lying indirection of the weakling and coward. The mother, the child's first teacher, reacts at a level of behaviour integration essentially no higher than his own childish, immature one.

In the second case, the mother gives into the child's tantrums, out of a weak love for him, out of a mistaken idea of his "cuteness", or because it is at the moment easier. In this case, the child conceives himself the centre of the universe, he gains a mistaken sense of superior power and usually grows up into the "spoiled child" adult who is unable to face the realities of life or meet the obligations and responsibilities of the adult world, and not infrequently becomes one of the many tragic patients crowding the office of the psychiatrist. The mother in this case is reacting at a level of behaviour integration essentially inferior to the child's own.

In the third case the mother calmly and quietly ignores the child's tantrums, or goes away from him, giving him a feeling that his behaviour (not his self) is unworthy of serious consideration. When his outburst is over, she maintains her attitude of love, sympathy and understanding helpfulness. The child soon realizes the futility of his reactions since it does not gain for him the desired end. The mother, as teacher, has set an example and opened the

way for a higher, more intelligent and controlled type of behaviour. Such a child is fortunate, for he has laid the foundation for a thoroughly mature adaptation to the adult world. This is a true case of non-violent resistance. And the child's reactions are similar to the reactions of any individual or group in adult life meeting with such resistance.

The craven attitude in an individual or group of individuals always invokes further violence of a sadistic nature. Possibly sadism is akin to the desire for annihilation of the filthy and the decaying,—a sort of avenging joy against what is repulsive. This of course is only a phase of the sadistic response. But dignity, courage and serenity will shame the attacker, will give him a sense of impotence, making him feel the meanness and futility of his methods. Masochism seeks pain for its own sake. This the non-violent resister does not do. He endures suffering with dignity, pride, even with joy for the sake of the end, the truth which is his goal. Pain and suffering are as incidental, even though unavoidable, to him as to the soldier.

Similarly, while masochism, psychologically engenders a sadistic response which is its complement, non-violence does not of itself call forth violence but tends on the contrary to overcome it. Anger arouses anger, violence violence, when individuals or groups meet on the same psychological level. But love overcomes hate, gentleness and compassion disarm the violent, and non-violence conquers violence on the psychological principle that a superior integration nullifies an inferior one.

Indeed these forces involve the most fundamental of all educational principles—teaching by example (imitation). Sacrifice from the view point of Gestalt is the merging of the lesser whole into the larger; of passions and instincts into the ordered control of intelligence; of the existence of the individual into the existence of the group. The lesser gestalt is merged into the greater only to become continuous with it, inseparably coexistent and transfigured. The larger whole thus created becomes the functioning unit. The physical reflexes of violent response are reconditioned in terms of controlled intelligent adjustment on a higher level of integration, the self-centered needs and desires of the individual disappearing in the striving for group welfare and group growth.

It must be realised that non-violence at its highest level as a moral and spiritual force is a very high stage of behaviour. Its great power is derived from this fact. The self is expanded to embrace the adversary. We become virtually "our brother's keeper" and responsible for his sins. Non-violence is maternal in the sense that God is maternal, the giver of life, creator of a higher good, a larger whole, a more integrate and sublime society. Through it the individual may experience that deep rooted desire

of a new and transcendent understanding and ultimately work out a new socio-economic order based on equality, justice and self-discipline. It is because of Gandhi's unflinching faith in victory through this higher type of non-violent resistance that even today when the world has gone stark war-mad, in spite of being considered unpractical and visionary, he insists that a victory, if it is to bring abiding and universal peace, must be won through non-violence. "Therefore", he says, "whether in the country as a whole or in the Congress I shall be in a hopeless minority. But for me even if I find myself in a minority of one my course is clear. My non-violence is on its trial. I hope I shall come out unscathed through the ordeal. My faith in its efficacy is unflinching. If I could turn India, Great Britain, America and the rest of the world including the Axis Powers in the direction of non-violence I should do so. But that feat mere human effort cannot accomplish. That is in God's hands. For me I can but do or die."

At the present time when the pendulum of civilization has swung back and man seems to have reverted to the barbaric stage of evolution such words may sound like a faint cry in the wilderness, but some day in the remote future, when man will have matured enough to reach this higher level of integration, one may hope that the creed of non-violence will become universally accepted.

PLAY THERAPY IN CHILD PSYCHIATRY—II

K. R. MASANI

The first part of Dr. Masani's article appeared in the June issue of the current volume. In this article the author considers the different phantasies, impulses, wishes and the like as they find expression in the play activities of children, and shows how play-therapy serves not only as a valuable method of treatment of difficult children but also as a means to a fuller understanding of the child and its problems.

IT was mentioned in the June issue of this Journal that the fundamental principle underlying the use of play-therapy for remedial work with maladjusted children was based on the fact that they express their phantasies, their impulses and desires, their fears and anxieties, their conflicts and other difficulties in their play activities. Observation of a child at play would therefore help in understanding its inner mind and in diagnosing the root causes of its maladjustment. These having been determined, appropriate therapy would follow, as a matter of course, in the majority of cases. The indulgence in play has further been shown to be beneficial to the child in many cases even without play diagnosis, interpretation and therapy based on these, as the child works out its difficulties in play, and externalises his inner conflicts and anxieties.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the different phantasies, impulses, wishes, anxieties and the like expressed by children in their play. It is the intention of the author not to present a systematic and comprehensive account of the different kinds of play and the different phantasies finding expression in them, but only to attempt to describe some of the more common and usual mental contents that so find expression. While it is true that some children have an endless variety of phantasies and thoughts which they express in play all of which cannot be classified, the play activities may conveniently be divided into the following groups which are by no means exclusive:—

1. Play expressing situational difficulties or experiences, and various emotional needs of the child.
2. Play expressing aggression.
3. Play expressing sexual and excretory phantasies.
4. Play expressing jealousy and the *Oedipus* situation.

1. *Play Expressing Situational Difficulties and Experiences.*—During the beginning sessions of Play-Therapy, a child very often indulges in play which expresses a difficult situation which the child has to face in reality, or which expresses the child's general pattern of life, be it pleasant or unpleasant. In the case of unpleasant situations the play is often in the nature of

wish-fulfilment in the sense that in the play the situation is altered according to the desire of the child.

To state an example from the play of a child attending the Child Guidance Clinic of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, a boy, aged about 10 years, worked out on the sand-tray a scene as follows:—In one corner of the sand-tray there was a nice little cottage on each side of which sat an elderly woman. In the diagonally opposite corner of the sand-tray was a little boy on horseback; the horse was facing in the direction of the hut. Asked what this scene represented the child replied that the little boy on horse-back was riding towards the cottage where the two people were sitting which was in a distant village from where the child on horse-back was. Asked what relation the two people were to the child on horse-back, he answered that they were his parents, and asked what village these parents lived, he answered village 'X'. This child was a child who had been remanded in a Children's Home in Bombay and he was longing to go home to his parents who lived in the village named 'X'.

Another child K, aged 11, attending the Clinic created a scene where a girl was locked up in an enclosure erected by using circular fencing. This was a boy of eleven years who had lost his mother some time back and his father married again, as he told the Clinic staff, in order to provide a mother for the child and to look after the home. He married, however, a girl aged 12 years, so that far from being a mother-figure the step-mother and the child vied with each other for the love and attention of the father, quarrelling frequently with each other. Their quarrels usually ended up by one of the two running out of the room in which they lived and locking the other in. The boy at times locked in the step-mother, while more often the latter locked in the former. In the play the wish fulfilment element was noticeable in that it was the step-mother who was locked in.

Frequently a child, and particularly a young one, finds it easier to express his difficulties—and his painful experiences in play, rather than verbally. For example, a boy of six treated by Rogerson¹ had witnessed a very unpleasant accident. It had evidently upset him, but on being questioned by the psychiatrist who knew him well, he denied all knowledge of it. Immediately afterwards he proceeded to play a most violent game in which a doll was crushed to death beneath a toy lorry. I remarked, "You saw that happen and you were frightened". He then said "Yes" and went on to some other play.

In such play depicting the child's environment, the play at times repeats the environment as it is, or changes it in the way the child would

¹ Rogerson, *Play Therapy*, Oxford Medical Publications, 1939, p. 50.

like it to be, according to its longings and desires. A simple example may be cited. A school girl aged eleven had been to a village for a holiday when she lived next to a farm in which she became interested and longed to do the things the rural folk did. Among the things she watched the farm hands doing, that which wanted to do most was to cut grass. This was not possible, however, and this desire remained unfulfilled. Months later when asked to draw something from her own mind the child drew a scene from the farm she had visited. However, in depicting the environment she did not depict it correctly and a prominent part of the drawing consisted of a girl cutting grass, and reality was altered according to the child's desire and her emotional needs.

Another common type of play indulged in by children, depicting the environment, is play where the child assumes the role of the father or mother, teacher or some other adult. For example, a girl "B" of about six at the Clinic, frequently indulged in play in which she re-enacted her environmental situation, herself playing the role of her mother and either depicting reality accurately or with distortions. On one such occasion while playing in the water-room, she selected and played the following game. The author of this article and a female playroom worker (with aprons on) were splashed with quantities of water thrown with a metal vessel which "B" kept on filling from a bucket. As the game had gone on for some time, the psychiatrist made an attempt to ask "B" if she would not like perhaps to play some other game and approaching the child said, "'B', would'nt you like....." Before the sentence could be finished she shouted back "Don't you call me 'B', I am your mother, you two are 'B', and each time I splash you with water cry out pleadingly, 'Oh Mummy please don't'." The child would not be satisfied till both the psychiatrist and the playroom worker carried out her instructions and cried out as she wanted them to do. This child was playing the role of the mother, this being a very keen desire in her, confirmation of this being obtained in many different ways during her play. Even on her first visit to the psychiatrist, before he had a chance to say anything or make a friendly enquiry, she stated "I am just as tall as she is", pointing to her teacher who had accompanied her.

It is understandable that the adults whose role the child assumes in his play are usually the parents or teachers but other roles are assumed from time to time in which the child repeats the real situations. For example, a girl aged nine years, "I.C." quoted by Dr. Lowenfeld², "re-produced a hospital with great care in which she played the dual role of doctor and nurse and arranged two beds and a table and two chairs. Worker was told to be the mother and bring the child in a pram and then wait in a queue. I. C. as

² Lowenfeld, *Play in Childhood*, Victor Gollancz Ltd., p. 196.

the doctor, then received us. She had ruled off paper in columns and asked the name of the child and its complaint. I said, I did not know what was the matter with it. It just seemed to be ill. She said it was influenza (after looking at its mouth), and that it must be an in-patient for three weeks. She put it to bed and got it to sleep, and I was allowed to look at it after it was asleep. No visiting during the three weeks was allowed for fear of upsetting it."

2. *Play Expressing Aggressiveness.*—Play expressing aggressiveness and anxiety in connection with it is found to be extremely commonly indulged in by maladjusted children at Child Guidance Clinics, and even the play of normal children abounds in types of play which express aggressiveness and anxiety. The aggressiveness is very often expressed symbolically by aggressive actions directed towards toys or objects which represented certain individuals in the child's mind. For example, "C", a boy of 13 years, was referred for clinic treatment on account of bouts of excessive rudeness towards the mother, timidity and fear of older boys, shyness and sensitiveness, and a general withdrawal from the world of reality into excessive day-dreaming.

He spontaneously selected to play the following game on four or five simultaneous occasions asking each time if he might do so although he had been often told before that he might play whatever game he liked. He selected four rag-dogs and arranging them in a row he began to knock them down. There were two big dogs, one black, which was slightly bigger than the other which was white, and two small ones. He took a rubber ball, and on occasions when one was not available some small blocks of wood, and began to knock them down. It was noticed that he mostly attempted to knock down the white dog, and seemed to be most satisfied when he knocked it down. Later, when asked what people the different dogs stood for he replied, "Big black dog is for Daddy, white dog for Mummy and the two small dogs for Gordon and Sheila (brother and sister)". Such aggressive knocking down of the dog representing the mother was accompanied by much anxiety as can be readily understood, and led to the frequent question whether he might play the same game on numerous occasions. The anxiety was also shown, and later lessened, by the child asking the writer to knock down the dogs. The cause why the child felt aggressive towards the mother was that, on the one hand, he was somewhat overprotected and his movements unduly restricted while, on the other, he felt doubtful whether his mother really loved him. He would ask his mother again and again if she loved him, to which she invariably replied that she loved him when he was a good boy. As it happened every now and then when he was called a naughty boy, the child at once needlessly put two and two together and felt that his mother

could not be loving him as she loved him only when he was good.

The above bit of aggressive play was useful first in revealing to the psychiatrist one of the causes of the child's insecurity and rudeness to the mother, while at the same time by satisfying his aggressiveness in play, the child became less and less rude to his mother in actuality, much to the mother's gratification. Again one of the main causes of the child's aggression towards the mother having been discovered from the child's play it became possible to take the logical step of advising the mother to reassure the child about her love for him by not answering his question "Do you love me Mummy?" by "Yes, if you are a good boy", but by replying: "Of course I love you", without any conditions attached to the reply. And such attitude therapy to the parents, rendered possible or made easier by the observation of play, usually helps further in the adjustment of the child and the removal of his symptoms.

The different kinds of play expressing aggression is legion and the causes of aggression in a child are numerous; it is not possible or necessary to describe them in this article in a comprehensive manner but a few of the more common kinds of aggression in play and the phantasies underlying them may be mentioned. Play with hammer toys, in which the child hammers cylindrical pieces of wood through holes, water pistols and pop-guns are very commonly used by children for aggressive types of play. For example, the girl "B" mentioned earlier, who played the role of the punishing mother splashing water at the psychiatrist and the playroom worker, also indulged repeatedly in vigorous hammering, while numerous children with more than the average amount of aggression also indulge in it particularly frequently.

Water and water-toys too are frequently used to express aggressive phantasies towards parents, brothers, sisters or other individuals, as it is possible to splash water aggressively at others as mentioned earlier; or again by the use of a rubber tube and a tap, a stream of water could be directed against a floating toy which can be thus drowned. For example, F, a boy of eleven, was observed to be drowning a doll. When asked if it was a male or female doll he replied "female". He had three sisters, A, B, and C, and it was known that he hated B because she always hit him on one of his ears which had a sub-acute inflammation and was tender. When the child was asked which of his three sisters the female doll represented, he answered without hesitation, "B". This child invariably preferred to play with water-toys, and indulge in urethral aggressive plays. He had been referred to the Clinic for excessively frequent micturition, and the child's idea was that he passed water 14 times in the morning and 14 times in the night. His sisters

A, B, and C, were aged 22, 14, and 12 respectively, and while he referred to his two sisters A and C by their correct names, he often referred to his sister B as "14". It was quite obvious that the frequency of his passing water was connected with the aggression he felt towards the sister aged 14, and was in the nature of a retaliation for the sister's hitting him on the tender ear. It is common knowledge that to spit on somebody is an aggressive action, and equally to pass water on somebody has hostile connections in the deeper layers of the mind; there is the additional point that by excessively frequent urination, a sufficient pool of water, as it were, might be collected where an adversary might be drowned.

Aggressive play then often takes different types and forms to express aggressive phantasies of the anal, oral or urethral type as the case may be over and above such forms of aggressive play as burying, or chopping the head off, or tearing and twisting of the limbs. Innumerable forms of play are employed by children for expressing aggression including cutting, mincing, grinding plasticine, play on the sand-tray, kicking, throwing balls, knocking down objects with missiles and other forms of play.

In the aggressive form of play a child usually works off in a socially acceptable form aggressive impulses towards a particular individual or a group of individuals and the causes for such aggression naturally depend upon the individual towards whom the aggression is felt. If felt towards the father or mother, it is commonly due to excessive strictness or severity of a parent, or because of taunts and nagging, or because the child is unloved by a parent or the child feels unloved by a parent, or again, because the parents ridicule the child or do not satisfy any of his or her deep seated emotional needs. Children who are over-protected by a parent and who have their movements curtailed, or are never given things they desire as well as those who feel that they do not get sufficient attentions from the parents, feel aggressive impulses towards them which they express in play. In a few instances a child's aggression is provoked by the knowledge that a parent dislikes him; for example, one mother of a girl of 15 years attending the Clinic used to curse the child wishing that she would die, and had on more than one occasion stated to the girl that in case a younger sister of the girl were to die, the mother would hold the girl responsible (through the mother's belief in black art) and would kill the girl.

Aggressive impulses towards a sibling are very frequently expressed in play by children, the common causes being jealousy, where the sibling is the favourite of a parent, or where an older sibling illtreats or neglects the younger. Aggression towards a teacher or companion or other individuals also is frequently expressed in play. Due to the fact that many of the

children in our clinic are Court or Institution cases, aggression towards a policeman or arresting officer, or against the authorities who incarcerate a child is also expressed at times.

Play Expressing Sexual and Excretory Phantasies.—At the outset it would be helpful to have a clear idea as to what is implied by the term 'sexual'. Freud originally used the term sexual to include all the pleasurable impulses and sensations which a child so commonly likes to indulge in, including oral pleasures such as sucking, biting, or incorporating objects in the mouth, anal impulses and sensations of controlling and holding back or expulsion of the contents of the bowel, urethral impulses and sensations such as enjoying the feel of passing urine or an impulse to project it as far as possible, and pleasurable sensations derived from the skin in general as also from movements of the different parts of the body.

Freud held that such pleasurable impulses and sensations in infants and children, were the precursors of the organised genital sexuality of the adult. He believed that the genital sexuality of the adult was coloured by these pregenital component impulses and he selected to term such impulses sexual. The use of this term to indicate those impulses was rather unfortunate as it led to a storm of indignation and protest when he stated that little children experience and like to experience sexual impulses. Although subsequent work has clearly vindicated Freud in the sense that there is undoubtedly a connection between these pregenital impulses of children and the genital sexual impulses of adults, and that quite frequently children indulge in the commonly understood genital sexuality as well. In this too there would appear to be similarities as well as dissimilarities from the normal adult genital sexuality. It would be well to note also that children indulge very often in the different individual components that go to make adult sexuality rather than that they have clear conception of sexual intercourse as ordinarily understood. For example, the element of curiosity appears to be extremely prominent in much of the mutual self-exposure, or the tendency to peep and in other ways to explore the genital organs of another child or adult that a child commonly indulges in. Then too, the taboo on discussions regarding the sexual and excretory functions and the consequent non-satisfaction in many cases of the curiosity which most children have in regard to how babies are born and in regard to the role of the father and the mother in the creation of a baby, and finally in regard to the differences between the sexes lead the child frequently to play which is expressive of sexual and excretory phantasies, doubts, anxieties, and conflicts in regard to them. In view of the absence of correct information children frequently have phantasies of impregnation and birth through the mouth, anus, ears, nose, or

other parts of the body. Rogerson³ quotes the case of an unstable child of 12 who phantasied in turn that children were born through their mother's nose, ears, eyes, umbilicus or rectum.

With these general remarks we may now turn to a consideration of some examples of play which appears to be connected with the child's interest and pleasurable sensations and impulses in connection with the oral, anal, or urethral, zones, with the genital organs, or play based on phantasies and beliefs, doubts and anxieties regarding the mechanisms of reproduction and birth, and regarding the differences between the sexes, and fears regarding threats to the safety of their genital organs.

In regard to the mouth zone, play characterised by sucking, biting, spitting, blowing water or air, are encountered from time to time. In such games the play may either be in the nature of satisfaction of the eroticism of the mouth zone, or it may be expressive of aggressive impulses connected with the mouth; biting and spitting have obviously aggressive components and the same is often the case in regard to sucking or forcible blowing of air. To quote two examples⁴, J. B., boy aged 6, grabbed a little girl's toys and then spat at worker. He climbed a ladder and standing on the top tried to dislodge a spider by spitting at it, and finally he hit it, shouted with joy, and tried again.

A. U., a boy aged 12, indulged in play connected with the mouth zone. "Four children were playing together at the Meccano table. When I came to them, his attitude seemed to be antagonistic from the start. He spoke politely but seemed to eye one with hostility. He was doing no work, but was leading a chorus of shrill railway whistling. He then took to whistling in the ears of two of the other children and this led to a rough and tumble. He was given the Meccano book, but only turned it over and did not attempt to make anything. He was taken off to do something else and after a few minutes he made one attempt to attract the others' attention by a shrill whistle across the room. But they took no notice. He gave me the impression of being out to annoy."

Similarly children also indulge in play in which attention is centered around the anal zone, either expressing anal phantasies of birth where a child feels that babies are born through the anal aperture, or play expressing interest in anal excretory functions which are ordinarily prohibited by social taboos. The act of defaecation often figures in children's play and conversation. The act often appears to be possessed of aggressive qualities. Many children indulge in play in the nature of symbolic actions to connote the ideas

³ Rogerson, *Play Therapy in Childhood*, p. 56.

⁴ Lowenfeld, *Play in Childhood*, p. 212.

of defaecation; for example, play with a mincing machine in which lumps of plasticine are ejected, or by throwing pieces of plasticine out of a window. The act of defaecation and the faeces are endowed with destructive and hostile qualities in the unconscious mind of many adults, and children often refer to faeces as lumps of poisonous material which have great potentialities of killing people and causing destruction.

Similarly, phantasies of aggressive micturition also occur as illustrated in the case quoted earlier where a child suffering from frequency of micturition which was seen to be due to hostile impulses towards his sister selected usually to play with water during which he forcibly projected a stream of water through a rubber tube on to a female doll symbolising his sister, which he drowned. Rogerson⁵ found that several children made a drawing of a figure of a man with a penis from which water came to drown everything else in the picture. Apart from phantasies of aggressive urination, children also play games in which the repressed pleasure of urination finds expression. For example, the case R. D., a boy aged 5½, quoted by Lowenfeld⁶ may be cited. "While he was playing with water, the rubber dog got water inside it and this delighted him. As he squirted it out, he said excitedly, 'Oh, he's tiddlin'; that's fine, look, he is tiddlin'' and soon after this he tried to fill the rubber doll with water, but the hole was in the back of its head. He turned it upside-down, dragged its legs apart, pointed to the part where the penis should be and laughed."

Quite frequently boys in their play or conversation express their anxieties regarding the threat to their penis, an anxiety lest their penis would be injured or cut off. This anxiety is usually symbolically expressed; to take a common example, one of the children, a boy of 13, treated by the writer, worked out scenes in a sand-tray in which a crocodile would come and bite off a leg of a human figure which represented the child. More rarely children even directly and clearly express their anxiety in play or conversation. One boy treated by Rogerson⁷, was able to recollect the first time he had seen his adopted sister in the bath. He said 'I thought she did look funny. I thought she'd lost her thing and I thought I might lose mine too. I was frightened.' He went on to tell how soon after he had a dream. He dreamt that his thing had come off in his hand and he called out in terror.

Play Expressing Jealousy and the Oedepus Situation.—A fair amount of play indulged in by children is related to the jealousy they feel towards other individuals, mostly a sibling or a parent. Examples abound of child-

⁵ Rogerson, *Play Therapy in Childhood*, p. 57.

⁶ Lowenfeld, *Play in Childhood*, p. 114.

⁷ Rogerson, *Play Therapy in Childhood*, p. 55.

ren who symbolically express their desire to be rid of a brother or sister towards whom the child feels jealous either because the sibling is or thought to be the favourite of one or both parent, or again quite commonly because an older child once holding the whole of the attention, love and caresses of the, parents suddenly finds himself confronted in early life with a situation where, a newly arrived baby gets more of the time and attention and what appears to the child, sometimes justifiably, more of the love of one or both parents. To quote a simple example, a small girl of 5 treated by the writer was the only child until she was about 3 and was the sole object of the parents' attention till then. Sometime after the birth of the baby she began to get spells of vacant staring lasting a few seconds which seemed to be accompanied at times by loss or dimming of consciousness. During clinic treatment the child indulged in the following play. On her arrival at the Clinic one afternoon, accompanied by her baby brother, before commencing her play she turned back and hugged and kissed the baby, rubbing her nose against his. During her play she preferred to play in the water-room, carefully selected a male doll out of several male and female dolls and placed it near the water-sink. Next, she went to the place where a lot of paints were kept and out of a selection of many bright coloured paints, she chose a dirty dark brown one. She brought this and proceeded with the help of a painting-brush to smear vigorously the doll's face with the dirty paint with an air of absorbed interest. She poked the brush in the child's eyes and forcibly thrust the brush against its nose; finally, she took the male doll and put it in a sink and projected a stream of water on to it. Asked if she loved her baby brother, she shook her head from side to side and gave a look indicating the answer "No", and finally asked what she was doing she replied, while still in the stage of absorbed attention, "I am drowning the baby". Such expressions of jealousy towards a sibling are very frequently encountered in the play of children and the same is often the case in relation to a parent.

The classical Oedepus situation is quite frequently found in the sense that a male child, for example, indulges in play symbolical or otherwise, in which he is depicted as having a pleasant and happy time with his mother while the intrusion of the father in this happy relationship is resented as can be inferred by the child symbolically sending the father away, or injuring or killing him. The same kind of play is observed at times in girls who seem to resent the mother's intrusion in a happy relationship between them and their father. Play expressing the inverted Oedepus situation in which a child is jealous of the parent of the opposite sex, is also encountered from time to time as, for example, in the case quoted of the boy of 11 who worked out a scene in which he locked his step-mother in an enclosure as he was

wont to do in real life on account of the jealousy he felt in regard to sharing his father's love and attention with her. In very young children, however, and in the stages between infancy and childhood the jealousy situations expressed by boys and girls do not appear to be different. Since all young children, be they male or female, are tended, loved, and looked after mostly by the mother in the early days of their life, they often feel jealous of the intrusion of the father whether the child is a male or female.

Having described in some detail some of the fundamental principles underlying play-therapy, and the different methods employed, and having illustrated the kinds of phantasies which children express in their play, a word may be said about the reasons for improvement which is found frequently following play-therapy. In a Child Guidance Clinic, while treating children, it is always difficult to ascertain how much improvement is directly due to the play-therapy, as in the majority of cases environmental manipulations including attitude-therapy to the parents are carried out side by side. Further, even in the cases where play-therapy is the only approach, improvement observed in a child may be entirely spontaneous. However, bearing these points in mind, it has still been possible to come to the conclusion that play-therapy is of undoubted value in treating maladjusted children because it frequently happens that environmental manipulations including attitude-therapy to the parents fail in relieving the maladjustment, and that on the institution subsequently of play-therapy, a child shows marked improvement. Also, although there is always the possibility of spontaneous improvement this factor can be ruled out in many cases because a child is usually only brought to a clinic after the parents' hope that the trouble would disappear spontaneously has not been fulfilled and often after the trouble has been getting from bad to worse. It might therefore be summed up that in most children play therapy appears to be beneficial while in a certain group of children the benefit has been proved.

The question 'why the improvement results' is difficult to answer with precise formulations, but it would appear that several factors are at work. Firstly, the child's relationship with the psychiatrist is entirely different from anything he has known, in the sense that the child is able to express his fears and anxieties, his aggressiveness, his sexual interest, and other tabooed impulses in an atmosphere which is characterized not by criticism or repression but by kindly understanding. It is this which enables a relationship to be built up which is unlike anything the child has experienced before. In such a setting and with such an understanding adult, he can express jealousy and spitefulness, aggressiveness and sexuality in such a way that their expression helps to lessen his anxieties and guilt in regard to these

impulses. The psychiatrist's or the playroom worker's calm and non-critical reception of his play further enables him to discover that his impulses, fears and guilt are not so terrifying as he thought, and the sharing of his "bad" thoughts by another person also helps in diminishing his guilt and anxiety. Further, while it is true that in many cases the non-critical reception of the child's play and the fact of his externalising his anxieties is helpful in overcoming the child's difficulties, correct interpretations from time to time, as indicated, also undoubtedly appear to be beneficial as shown in the case of the child of ten whose phantasy to drown his sister had taken the shape of the symptom of frequency of micturition. Then again, direct education and information of the child along lines indicated according to the child's play also is a factor which helps in many cases, for example, where play reveals non-satisfaction of sexual curiosity. It may be stated therefore, that play-therapy is widely employed with most children in Child Guidance Clinics along with other methods of treatment and that its value is greatest where other methods are impossible to adopt, or where such other methods fail to achieve their objective. Finally, apart from the value of play-therapy as a method of treatment it will have been seen that it plays a very prominent part in enriching one's knowledge of the deeper understanding of the child's mind, of his hopes and longings, his fears and his anxieties, his guilt and remorse, and his doubts and conflicts. It is for these reasons that play-therapy has assumed the important place it has in regard to the understanding of the child's mind and the treatment of his maladjustments.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES IN WARTIME

S. F. CHELLAPPAH

While maintaining that public health services in wartime are not essentially different from those in peace time, the author points out the special problems which arise owing to war conditions and shows how public health services should be planned and coordinated to meet war emergencies and at the same time meet effectively the health needs of the civilian population.

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PUBLIC health services in wartime for civilians are no different from those in peace time, but owing to a state of emergency first things come first and special problems will need immediate attention. What follows has particular reference to public health services in the East.

In wartime the maintenance of the health of the fighting services is a matter of primary concern, and with the nature of the present war the location of troops is so very much mixed with the civilian population that in consequence the health of one has a definite bearing on that of the other. This is a total war and everybody has a share to bear in the prosecution of it; and the maintenance of the health of the civilian population is as necessary as that of the fighting services.

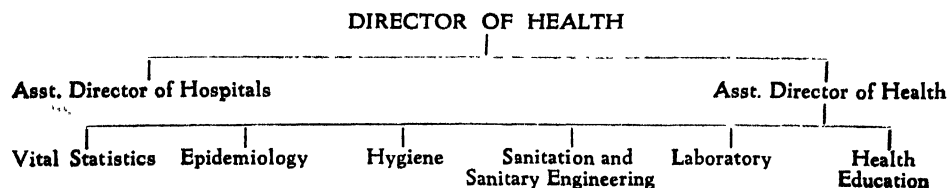
No one can say what the duration of the war would be. It may be protracted which is likely or there may be a sudden collapse on the part of the enemy which may be termed wishful thinking. It is best to make plans as if the state of emergency would be prolonged. These plans should provide for (a) the maintenance of the health of the troops to the extent that the civilian services could assist; (b) safeguarding of the health of the civil population. They should take into account that (1) there might be an extra load placed on existing medical and sanitary facilities; e.g. medical men may be mobilized and there would be inadequate personnel for civilian needs; owing to increase in population there might be a strain on the water supply or waste disposal system; owing to air raids there might be insufficient bed accommodation in hospitals, and so forth. (2) We may have to do without certain articles which have been necessary in our work, e.g., Quinine which owing to Java, which produced 95% of the world's supply, being in enemy hands, will not be abundantly available for the treatment of Malaria. Substitutes will have to be used and Quinine conserved solely for the treatment of Malaria. There will be other drugs which have to be obtained from the West, but owing to lack of shipping facilities we will have to do without

them, especially when local and other substitutes can be found.

Organization of public health services.—In dealing with the subject of public health services a broad view should be taken and they should include medical care as well. Today a good deal of treatment is involved in the prevention of disease so that there is no definite demarcating line to indicate where prevention ends and treatment begins.

In wartime, especially, there should be a single central control. The direction of both curative and preventive work should be exercised by a medical man with public health training and experience, and not by one merely with a "public health outlook". Under one head all resources could be pooled and work economically carried out. This single direction by a public health man will enable Medical Officers to think in terms of prevention and to assist in public health work. Special emphasis is placed on prevention because in Eastern countries more than anywhere else preventive medicine is the cheapest means of improving the health conditions of the people.

The Director should be assisted by one assistant in medical matters and another in health matters. Under each of the assistants should be officers in charge of recognized sub-heads of medical and health work. The sections of the health services at the centre termed "divisions" or "bureaux" are as follows :—



There should be in the organisation a group of specialists who would be advisers to the Director in their specialities and be responsible for developing and supervising them. These specialities would be Ophthalmology, Dentistry, Ear, Nose and Throat, Tuberculosis, Venereal Disease, Leprosy, Maternal and Child Welfare, Malaria Control, Nutrition, Epidemiology, Bacteriology, Entomology etc.

Health work to be effective should be decentralised and local authorities, such as Municipalities, Urban Councils, Village Committees etc., made responsible for the conduct of it. Where local authorities are not available the central government should carry on the work through its own officers. The personnel required for local health work consists of Health Officers, Sanitary Inspectors, Public Health Nurses or Health Visitors and Midwives.

The health officer should be trained in public health work and so should the other personnel be in their respective spheres. Health work done

without adequate training is futile and leads nowhere. This training should be imparted in properly organized institutions but it could, however, be imparted, in an emergency, in areas known as health units where modern health work is carried out in limited areas by an adequate staff of trained health personnel. There is a tendency to think that the health officer, especially in rural areas, should do both medical and health work. This combined work may be possible in a very restricted area and to a very restricted extent. In the areas and populations assigned to health officers today the combined work cannot be satisfactorily carried out. In the long run, it would be found more effective to have separate officers for preventive and curative work with the curative officer trained in health work and carrying out in the vicinity of his institution certain public health work which would be akin to his curative work such as maternity and child welfare, medical inspection of school children and correction of defects, immunization against such diseases as cholera, smallpox, typhoid and plague, mass hookworm treatment, venereal disease, tuberculosis and leprosy work etc.

In an area the activities of the two officers doing curative and preventive work should be co-ordinated by periodic conferences so that one can effectively assist the other. Preventive work should go hand in hand with curative work. In no country has curative work by itself reduced the death rates. In many countries curative work has preceded preventive work and not until preventive work was introduced did the death rates fall.

From experience it has been found that a health officer by himself could look after the health needs of a population of 40,000. Sometimes if the area is large and the population scattered a lesser population would have to be assigned. If this population of 40,000 is appreciably increased he would need the assistance of a medical officer. Doing specialized public health nursing a public health nurse can deal with a population of 8,000. The same population can be assigned to a Sanitary Inspector. A midwife can deal with a population of 4,000. A health organization for a population of 40,000 would be one health officer, 5 public health nurses, 5 sanitary inspectors and 10 midwives.

There should be a unified scheme for the training and provision of health personnel throughout the country. This should be a matter for the Central Government, and the services of trained personnel should be made available to local authorities on favourable financial terms—a part of the salaries being borne by the Central Government. When services are so loaned there should be an understanding with the local authorities that while the officers come under them for administrative purposes, they would be under the direction and supervision of the Director of Health in technical matters.

Money is necessary for the conduct of health work and any com-

munity that is willing to spend money can determine its death rate within reasonable limits. Health laws are essential in the conduct of health work. Even if they are not invoked they should nevertheless be available. Existence of laws induces an individual to comply with the requirements of the sanitary authority. For the effective conduct of health work, planning of work, carrying out of work according to plan, regular stock-taking and maintaining the interest of the workers are very necessary. This has been achieved in successful health work by means of weekly conferences of the health staff presided over by the health officer, when achievements of the week are discussed and plans made for the following week.

The organization of local health work is represented in the two following charts showing (a) the organization of work; (b) the principle duties of the health personnel. .

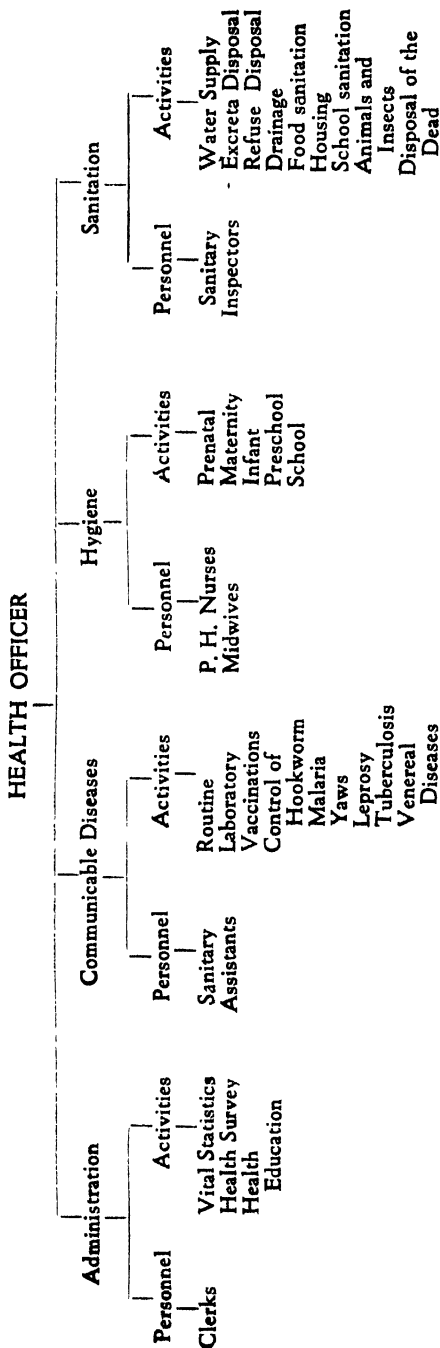
Survey.—“Know your area, know your people” is a slogan used in health work today. Before health work could be commenced it is necessary to become acquainted with the district and its sanitary state, and the diseases that the people are suffering from and dying from. This is done by means of a survey. Based on the findings of the survey a programme of work is prepared and work is undertaken in the order of urgency. The preparation of a programme of work is a necessary feature of public health work and all work is done according to programme; otherwise very little is achieved.

Vital Statistics.—The objects of public health work are :—(1) to reduce deaths, (2) to prevent sickness and (3) to promote health.

The progress of such work in an area is judged by its effect on the death and sickness rates; and it is the business of the health officer to be continually studying his vital statistics. Vital statistics in the hands of a health officer is likened to a thermometer in the hands of a physician. When the temperature goes up the physician knows that there is something wrong with his patient and similarly when death or sickness rates go up, the health officer knows that there is something wrong with his community. The death rates that will be found of use as measures of health work are :—(1) The general death rate, (2) the infant death rate, (3) the maternal mortality rate and (4) specific death rates for Tuberculosis, Typhoid Fever, Dysentery, Malaria and other diseases which may be problems in the area.

Control of Communicable Diseases.—Public health work in the past aimed at controlling the communicable diseases, but to-day, while the main object continues to be the same, in more advanced communities this work has extended to the control of the degenerative diseases such as those of the heart and kidney, diabetes and malignant disease. Communicable diseases are caused by minute living organisms which can be seen, recognised and measured

(a) ORGANIZATION CHART OF LOCAL HEALTH WORK



(b) CHART OF DUTIES OF HEALTH PERSONNEL

MEDICAL OFFICER OF HEALTH IN CHARGE

DUTIES

1. Directing the work of the Unit.
2. Health Education-lectures, lantern talks, publicity work, school health programme etc.

CLERK (Duties)

1. Correspondence and keeping records.
2. Epidemiology, keeping records, spot maps.
3. Vital statistics, tabulation of births and deaths statistics.
4. Compilation of monthly reports.
5. In charge of drugs, anti-typhoid vaccine and calf lymph.
6. In charge of all stores.

NURSES (Duties)

1. Health Education by personal contact.
2. Prenatal and maternity work.
3. Supervision of midwives.
4. Maternity & child welfare work.
5. Home visiting.

MIDWIVES (Duties)

1. Prenatal and maternity work.
2. Assisting the nurses of the child welfare clinic.

SANITARY INSPECTORS (Duties)

1. Health Education by personal contact and helping M. O. H. in lectures.
2. Quarantine and Isolation.
3. Inspection and improvement of food handling establishments.
4. Latrine construction and maintenance.
5. Inspection and improvement of wells.
6. House to house inspections.
7. Vaccination against smallpox.
8. Hookworm examination and treatment.
9. Supervision of conservancy & scavenging.
10. Mosquito control work.
11. Nuisance abatement

with the exception of the viruses. The sources of the organisms of human disease are bodies of diseased human beings, with certain exceptions as tetanus, rabies, glanders and anthrax. The organisms leave the body with the liquid and solid discharges; and the disease results from the transference of excretions and abnormal discharges from the sick to the well. The germs of these communicable diseases enter the human body through (a) wounds, (b) natural openings into the cavities of body, viz., the nose and mouth, (c) enlarged tonsils and adenoids.

The modes of transmission are:—(a) contact (1) droplet infection; (2) hand to mouth infection, (3) through articles recently soiled by excretions; (b) water; (c) milk and other food; (d) insects.

(a) Contact.

Droplet Infection.—When a person coughs, sneezes or speaks loud a spray is projected, composed of numerous droplets on which are germs which may have been in the person's mouth or nostrils. These germs may be those of disease. Any person who is in the way of this spray could acquire the infection. A person is usually safe from infection if he is 3 or 4 feet from one who has an infectious disease, provided the person with the disease turns his face away when he coughs, sneezes or talks loud. Diseases spread in this way are colds, sore throat, pneumonia, influenza, diphtheria, tuberculosis, cerebro-spinal fever, whooping cough, mumps, measles, chickenpox and smallpox.

Hand to mouth infection is spread by hands soiled by the excretions of the sick. Two rules for people who nurse infectious diseases are: (1) do not touch your nose, mouth, food or drink if there is any suspicion of your hands being soiled; and (2) wash hands immediately after touching a sick person or anything that he has used. When visiting cases of infectious disease a wise precaution is to keep one's hands in one's pocket.

Infection may be carried by articles recently soiled such as a towel or spoon or cup and used by others. The common towel or the common drinking cup are highly dangerous from the point of view of the spread of infection.

- (b) Diseases carried by water are : Typhoid fever, dysentery, cholera, diarrhoea, goitre, bilharzia, guinea-worm infestation.
- (c) Diseases carried by milk are: Typhoid fever, dysentery, diarrhoea, septic sore throat, tuberculosis, undulant fever, diphtheria.
- (d) Diseases carried by other foods are: Typhoid, dysentery, diarrhoea, cholera.

(e) Diseases carried by insects are:

- by mosquitoes—Malaria, yellow fever, dengue, filariasis.
- by lice —Typhus, relapsing fever;
- by fleas —Plague;
- by ticks —Relapsing fever;
- by tsetse fly —Sleeping sickness;
- by house flies—All diseases, conveyed by excreta as typhoid, dysentery, cholera.

When the germs enter the body and the latter is unable to withstand the invasion the former increase and multiply, and the disease results. There is an interval between the entrance of the germs into the body and the onset of the disease. This is known as the incubation period. This period varies with the different diseases, e.g., it is 11-21 days in Chickenpox, 10-14 days in Smallpox, 12-23 days in Mumps and so forth. The incubation period is followed by the onset of the disease. In some diseases, there is an eruption which appears at different periods from the time of onset, e.g., in Chickenpox on the 1st day or with the onset, in Scarlet Fever on the 2nd day, in Smallpox on the 3rd day and so on.

The patient remains infectious for some time. He should not be discharged till he is non-infectious to determine which bacteriological examinations will have to be carried out in some of the diseases.

In the control of communicable disease, the source of infection and the mode of transmission should in every case be determined. The source of infection is generally man himself. Some human diseases are acquired from animals; for example, plague from the rat, anthrax from cattle, rabies from the dog, glanders from the horse. In general man is man's own enemy in the matter of communicable diseases so that before other sources of infection are incriminated, the possibility of a human case being the source should be eliminated. Such a human case could be (a) a person actually ill with the disease; (b) a person convalescing from the disease; (c) a carrier; and (d) a missed case. Every case of infectious disease should always be considered a potential source of an epidemic and should be treated as such. Our object should always be to eliminate the source of infection and prevent a second case occurring.

The standard routine adopted in the administrative control of communicable diseases is the following:—(a) Notification, (b) Investigation, (c) Isolation, (d) Quarantine, (e) Disinfection and (f) Special measures. The control of every one of the communicable diseases can be dealt with under the above headings.

(a) *Notification*.—Notification should be compulsory. Unless cases are

notified or detected the subsequent steps cannot be undertaken, and in any locality provision for notification should be made and the people responsible for it educated to conform to it. The tendency in the East would appear to be among the ignorant classes to conceal cases of infectious disease. This perhaps has been due to procedures carried out, which were not understood and which conflicted with the people's habits and customs. Education should eventually overcome this, but the law should be there to enforce notification. In an outbreak of a communicable disease, arrangements should be made for systematic house to house inspection for the early detection of cases.

Every case notified or detected should be carefully *investigated* with the object of determining the source of infection and the mode of transmission. For this purpose printed investigation cards should be used on which the requisite data could be obtained, and a number of these subsequently tabulated and analysed will provide the information necessary to determine the source of infection and mode of transmission in an epidemic.

It will be found most useful in dealing with infectious diseases to study them by means of (1) a tabulated statement showing the main details of each of the cases, such as name, age, sex, race, date of onset, date of taking to bed, date of report, probable date of infection, source of infection, mode of transmission etc. (2) Spot maps (a) of current cases, (b) of total cases. (3) A chronological chart (a) by days if dealing with an epidemic, (b) by weeks, (c) by months and (d) by years. And finally (4) a statement showing incidence by weeks, months and years.

Isolation.—Isolation of the patient must be prompt and effective. In the case of cholera, smallpox and plague, isolation in special hospitals is very necessary. While it is desirable to have all other cases of infectious diseases isolated in special hospitals wherever possible, they are, however, allowed to be isolated in their homes when conditions are satisfactory.

When isolation is carried out in the home, the following should be observed :—Setting apart of a separate room and in the case of the poor, when one is not available, even screening off a portion of the verandah; removal of all hangings and unnecessary furniture; the sick room should have plenty of fresh air, a bed with clean bed clothes, a table for keeping patient's medicine, cups, saucers etc., a table for lotion and water for washing hands, and a vessel with disinfectant for receiving soiled linen.

Further, there should be a separate person to nurse the patient and he or she should not cook the food for others: such a person should wear overalls, wash hands after handling the patient and whenever hands get soiled, and should be protected by inoculation; separate cups, saucers, plates, spoons, forks etc. should be reserved for the patient and should be disinfected after each use,

NOTE :—Food taken to the sick room and not consumed by the patient should not be consumed by others, but should be buried.

Other people should be kept out of the room; a sheet should be put over the door as an indication to visitors to keep out.

Excreta and discharges should be properly received and disposed of; all linen leaving the room should be placed in disinfectant bath before being taken to be washed.

Quarantine of Contacts.—In the case of cholera, smallpox and plague the contacts are quarantined, i.e., they are kept segregated from other people for a period equivalent to the longest incubation period of the disease. In the case of other diseases contacts are placed under surveillance. They are allowed to go about their work and are seen every day or every other day.

Disinfection.—This is of two kinds: (a) Concurrent, (b) Terminal. Concurrent disinfection takes care of all discharges as soon as voided, and soiled clothing as soon as soiling takes place. This also includes all articles used by the patient. The time to disinfect is when the patient is ill and when he is infectious. If concurrent disinfection has been properly carried out terminal disinfection will consist of mere house cleaning and airing.

Special Measures.—The special measures undertaken will depend on the disease that is being dealt with; for example, rat destruction in plague; mosquito control in malaria, dengue and yellow fever; disinfection of drinking water in cholera, typhoid or dysentery; construction of latrines in ankylostomiasis; Immunization in smallpox, cholera, typhoid, diphtheria etc.

The following statement gives a few of the more important details useful for the administrative control of the more common communicable diseases.

When an individual recovers from an attack of one of these communicable diseases, he develops a tendency not to contract it again. This is due to the production of protective antibodies as a result of the attack. Similar antibodies can be artificially produced in those who have not suffered from the disease by injecting diseased organisms which have been killed or which have had their virulence reduced. Preventive inoculation is practised successfully in a number of diseases such as Cholera, Smallpox, Plague, Typhoid, Diphtheria and Yellow Fever. The troops are immunized against Cholera, Smallpox, and Typhoid Fever, and these diseases are effectively controlled among them. It is very necessary that the civil population should be similarly immunized because it is in times such as these that outbreaks of these diseases occur. This immunization should be done free to the people and at centres convenient to them.

Venereal Disease.—There is one disease which is a problem in all Wars

Some Details of Administrative Control of the More Common Communicable Diseases

Disease	Source of infection	Mode of transmission	Incubation period	Period of infectivity	Quarantine	Rash	Special measures
Measles	Secretions from nose and mouth	Contact	7-14 days	During period of catarrhal symptoms and until cessations of abnormal mucous secretions	None	4th day	Immunization with convalescent serum
Mumps	Secretions of mouth and nose	Contact	12-23 days	Until parotid gland has come to its normal size	None	...	.....
Plague	Blood of infected persons and animals. Sputum in case of pneumonic plague	Flase in bubonic. Droplet infection in pneumonic	3-5 days	Until convalescence is well established	6 days	...	Immunization of population. Rat examination
Smallpox	Lesions of mucous membranes & skin	Contact: Infected water, milk, shellfish and other food flies	10-14 days	From onset to disappearance of scabs and crusts	16 days	3rd day	Vaccination
Typhoid Fever	Bowel discharges, urine of infected persons & carriers	Contact	7-23 days	Until repeated bacteriological examination of urine and faeces shows absence of the organism	None	End of 1st week	Immunization. Disinfection of drinking water, control of food and drink. Proper disposal of excreta. Prevention of fly breeding
Whooping Cough	Discharges from the mucous membranes of the larynx and bronchi	Contact	1-3 weeks	7 days after exposure to 3 weeks after development of characteristic whoop	Exclusion of non-immune children from school for 10 days after last exposure	...	Prophylactic Vaccination

Chickenpox	Lesions of skin and mucous membranes	Contact	11-21 days	Till all primary scabs have disappeared	...	1st day	.....
Cholera	Bowel discharges & vomitus of patients. Faeces of carriers	Contact: Infected water, milk and other food. Flies	1-5 days. Usually 3 days	Until infectious agent is absent in the bowel discharges on 2 successive occasions at 5 days intervals	Quarantine for 6 days	...	Proper disposal of excreta. Inoculation. Contacts to be rectal swabbed and carriers to be isolated and released only when 2 successive swabs at 5 days intervals are negative. Disinfection of drinking water. Supervision of food and drink. Control of fly breeding.
Diphtheria	Discharges from lesions. Secretions from nose & throat of carriers	Contact: Infected Milk	2-10 days	Until virulent bacilli are absent from the throat	Till shown to be not carriers by bacteriologic and examination of throat swabs	...	Deteriorating presence of carriers. Immunization. Virulence tests of convalescence and carriers.
Dysentery	Bowel discharges of infected persons	Contact: Infected water, milk or other food. Flies	Amoebic unknown bacillary. 2-7 days	During course of disease and until the organisms are absent from the stools	None	...	Boiling off drinking water. Supervision of food and drink. Control of fly breeding. Proper disposal of excreta.
German Measles	Secretions of mouth and nose	Contact	14-21 days	8 days from date of onset of the disease	None	...	.....

and that is *Venereal Disease*. While the medical authorities of the fighting services are well prepared and do deal effectively with the disease in the troops, they are, however, handicapped in regard to the control of the civilian population as a source of infection to the troops. The problem to be dealt with as a war measure is (a) the protection of the troops and (b) the building up of a scheme for the control of the disease in the civil population, if one does not exist already. Schemes prepared and held up during peace times often are promptly put into operation during war time.

The crux of the problem is the control of prostitution. While this is undertaken by the Police, other measures that could be adopted to lessen the chances of the troops getting infected are : (a) Education and keeping constantly before the troops the dangers of venereal diseases to them, to the services and to their wives and children by means of pamphlets, talks and cinema films, and the need to keep themselves fit both in mind and body. (b) Establishment of social welfare centres where the men could find wholesome recreation which will keep them away from temptation. (c) Action to lessen alcoholic excess as it has been accepted that under the influence of alcohol most victims have acquired V.D. And (d) effective treatment of all civilians, especially females. While (a), (b) and (c) are matters for the fighting services, the civil authorities should take action in regard to (d).

A scheme for the control of the disease among civilians as a wartime measure is one based on compulsory notification and is as follows :—

1. Any person having reason to believe that he or she is suffering with one of the venereal diseases should have himself or herself examined by a medical practitioner or at a government institution.

2. Every medical practitioner on diagnosing a case of venereal disease shall (i) deliver to him or her a card of instructions relating to the disease and bearing a serial number affixed by the proper authority ; (ii) enter his or her name in a confidential register; (iii) transmit to the proper authority notification of the case by number and not by name; and (iv) maintain notes of treatment administered.

3. When the person desires to change his or her medical practitioner, he or she could do so and hand over to the new medical practitioner or institution his or her instruction card. The medical practitioner or institution will notify the original medical practitioner or institution of the change and secure the notes of treatment.

4. The person infected should continue treatment till certified as free from infection.

5. In the case of default of treatment the medical practitioner or institution will notify the proper authority of the fact and give the name and

address of the defaulter. The proper authority will take steps to get the person to continue treatment.

6. Defaulters should be removed to a hospital and kept there and treated till non-infectious.

Compulsory notification is not always a success. It has the tendency to drive the disease underground. It should, however, be combined with education.

Malaria.—Another disease of importance both during war and peace is *Malaria*. This is a disease of mankind caused by a microscopic germ, known as the malarial parasite, which ordinarily lives and multiplies in human blood. When a susceptible mosquito bites a man infected with malaria, it sucks up these parasites along with the blood. The parasites thus enter the stomach of the mosquito where they undergo further development for a period of about seven to ten days. At the end of this period, hundreds of parasites would have developed in the stomach wall of the mosquito. Eventually, these find their way into the saliva of the mosquito. When this mosquito bites another man it injects into the wound the saliva and along with it the parasites, which quickly get into the blood and multiply rapidly. It will thus be seen that malaria is transmitted from man to man by the mosquito. Though there are several kinds of mosquitoes, it is only a few amongst the mosquitoes with dappled wings that carry malaria. These are known as anophelines.

Within a period of about ten days to a fortnight after being bitten, the man shows the usual symptoms of malaria, such as fever, headache, vomiting, chills and rigors. Unless treated promptly and effectively, the man gets repeated attacks of fever, becomes weak, anaemic and cachectic. His vitality is lost. Though he may not die directly as a result of malaria, he is so incapacitated and debilitated that he falls a victim to many other diseases. It is estimated that in India, during normal times, nearly a hundred million people suffer from the disease and about a million people die annually as a result of it. In tropical countries, malaria is, perhaps, the most important factor which affects the health of the people and the control of the disease even during peace times is not an easy matter. It involves the co-operative effort on the part of the public health services and the public. It is only after years of unceasing and persistent efforts that the disease can be controlled.

During times of war, there are several new factors which come into play and make an already difficult task more difficult. The defences of the area have to be considerably reinforced by troops drawn from geographically different places. This may mean the introduction of a non-immune susceptible people into an infected area or the sudden introduction of a large number of people infected with a species or strain of malaria parasites to which the local

population of the area is not accustomed to or both. Troops are transported both by sea and air from one place to another. By this means a powerful mosquito vector from one area may be carried to a new area where it may find ideal conditions for breeding. Once established in the new area, this new vector may be responsible for severe outbreaks of malaria.

There is considerable amount of movement amongst the civil population during war times. People living in comparatively healthy areas may be forced to move into malarious areas when mass evacuation of an area is found necessary from a military point of view. There are others who have to vacate a place where they had been living in comfort for years and seek shelter in less healthy places for fear of air attacks by the enemy. These movements are unforeseen and so sudden that there is hardly any time for preventive measures to be undertaken or for those who can afford to provide themselves with the equipment necessary for personal prophylaxis.

Large construction and engineering works may have to be undertaken in malarious areas as a part of the general scheme of defence. During peace times, the population of such area is a small one and cannot provide the labour necessary for these works. Others from healthy areas will have to be brought in. Unless these labourers are adequately protected against malaria, the work will be disorganised and cannot be completed within the minimum period. Time is an important factor. The whole defence scheme may prove a failure. Besides, these men who get infected will return to their homes and will serve as reservoirs of infection.

People who had been accustomed to a peaceful existence are forced to experience an unusual strain and stress which makes them less resistant to infections. Coupled with this, is the absence of their normal balanced diets caused by food shortage in countries situated within the War Zone.

In controlling malaria brought about by the above conditions, the public health authorities will have to be vigilant and must plan ahead. They must be in a position to deal with every contingency as it arises.

The strict observance of such well known methods of personal prophylaxis as the use of mosquito nets, mosquito boots, long trousers and long-sleeved shirts and anti-mosquito creams must be insisted on in the case of troops. Amongst civilians, those who can afford them must be encouraged to practise such methods. Both military and civil population must be advised not to remain out-of-doors late at night.

The administration of drugs like quinine or mepacrine as a prophylactic measure on a mass scale should be resorted to only when anti-mosquito measures are found to be ineffective or impracticable. In the case of military personnel, labour gangs and such others who live under regular disciplinary

control, these drugs may be administered in regulated doses with a view to keeping them on their feet during the emergency. In the case of the ordinary civil population, there is hardly any chance of the drugs being administered regularly. As such, this method is not advocated in the case of the latter.

Most countries have found that the cheapest and most successful methods of controlling malaria on a mass scale are those that are directed against the mosquito vector, either in its adult stage or in its aquatic stage. Where the mosquito is one which rests in the house after its feed and where the residential areas are not scattered about, the best method of control is that of adult-spray killing by spraying the houses with an insecticide containing pyrethrum extract. This method is practised extensively in India and Ceylon. In the case of military, labour and evacuation camps, this is the method of choice, especially in rural areas. Where the mosquito vector is one which seeks shelter outside the house after it has had its feed, it will be advantageous to adopt anti-larval measures like spraying of oil or paris green on the places where the mosquito breeds.

One should not forget that adequate and proper treatment of all cases of malaria is a line of defence. Treatment should not be limited to the period necessary for stopping the fever only. It should be continued for a week with a view to destroying the malaria parasites in the blood and thus preventing the occurrence of relapses. It may become necessary to establish additional dispensaries and treatment centres in camps and within easy reach of the people. Though stocks of quinine are very short in the countries of the United Nations, there are synthetic drugs like the mepacrine which can be used as substitutes.

A public health laboratory is a very important and indispensable requirement in public health work today. It is very necessary in the diagnosis of communicable diseases. Its services should be made readily available to the physicians of the area who should be encouraged to make the greatest possible use of it in their work. In communicable diseases work, the assistance of the laboratory is needed (a) in diagnosis, viz. to determine whether the case in question is infectious and the nature of the infection; (b) in determining whether the patient has ceased to be infectious and fit for discharge; and (c) in detection of carriers. Besides bacteriological examinations, other functions of a public health laboratory are: (a) chemical examinations, (b) preparation of biologicals such as vaccines and sera, (c) research and (d) education.

Sanitation.—In the tropics cholera, typhoid fever, dysentery and helminthic infestations particularly those of hookworm and round worms are very prevalent and constitute a very serious menace to the health of the people.

In many places these conditions are endemic but they are all preventable. In their control, the following are of importance: proper disposal of human excreta, protection of water supplies from pollution, proper disposal of refuse, drainage, food sanitation, fly control. In addition, this section will deal with housing and the control of animals and insects.

If human excreta is properly disposed of without it coming in contact with the food or drink of man it would be possible to eradicate cholera, typhoid fever and dysentery; but knowing how difficult it is to dispose of it in this fashion, the protection of the drinking water and the prevention of the breeding of flies become important.

Disposal of Excreta.—Human excreta contains the germs of disease. What makes it dangerous at all times is that these germs are discharged not only by the sick but also by people who are apparently healthy—called carriers—persons who harbour the organisms in their system and discharge them in their evacuations without suffering from the disease. The main diseases spread by improper disposal of excreta have been mentioned. In the disposal of human excreta, what one should aim at is to get it quickly away from one's house. This is well provided for by the water carriage system, which is the ideal method. It is expensive and needs plenty of water. The system is suitable for cities and wherever possible it is to be aimed at.

The next method is to receive the excreta into water tight receptacles, keep it protected from insects and animals, and remove it daily as in the bucket system. This is suitable in any area where a sanitary organization is available. Disposal is by incineration, trenching or compost making. When no sanitary organization is available, the pit system is suitable. This would be the system in rural areas. Here no other ultimate disposal is needed—the pit becomes the receptacle and the place of final disposal.

In most parts of India and Ceylon, the systems that would be applicable are the bucket system and the pit system and it would be useful to consider these in greater detail.

The Bucket Latrine.—It consists of the following 4 components:—(a) the floor, (b) the bucket chamber, (c) disposal of wash water, and (d) the superstructure. The floor is 3 feet by 5 feet. Anything larger than this is unnecessary. The smaller the area where dirt can collect the better. This is divided into an anterior washing area and a posterior squatting area, each 3 feet by 2½ feet. The latter is made of cement concrete in a mould and is reinforced with quarter inch iron rods. It is dished and provided with an opening 14 inches long, 4 inches wide in front and 5 inches wide at the rear with the sides of the opening splayed outwards. This splaying outwards prevents the sides being soiled. The plate is 2½ inches thick. The posterior end of the

opening is 8 inches from the posterior end of the plate to prevent the rear wall being soiled. Foot rests are provided in a definite position so that when the feet are correctly placed on them and the latrine used there will be no soiling



Figure 1.—Cement concrete squatting plate.



Figure 2.—Floor of bucket latrine : squatting plate. The opening at the junction of washing (anterior area) and squatting (posterior) area carries away wash-water.

of the plate. These foot-rests are $\frac{1}{2}$ inch high in front and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the heel end. For details, the type plan and photographs below should be studied.

The anterior washing area is dished to an opening at the junction of the squatting and washing areas. All wash water will find its way to this opening which leads to the bucket chamber, in which it is conducted under the bucket to its final disposal in a catch pit or soakage pit.

The bucket chamber is right under the squatting plate and is constructed to the shape and size of the bucket which is of standard dimensions, allowing one-fourth inch between the top of the bucket and the side walls. The floor of the chamber is dished and graded outwards. With the dishing when the bucket is placed over it, there is a channel along which the wash water travels. A definite drain should be avoided as it will be another place to keep clean.

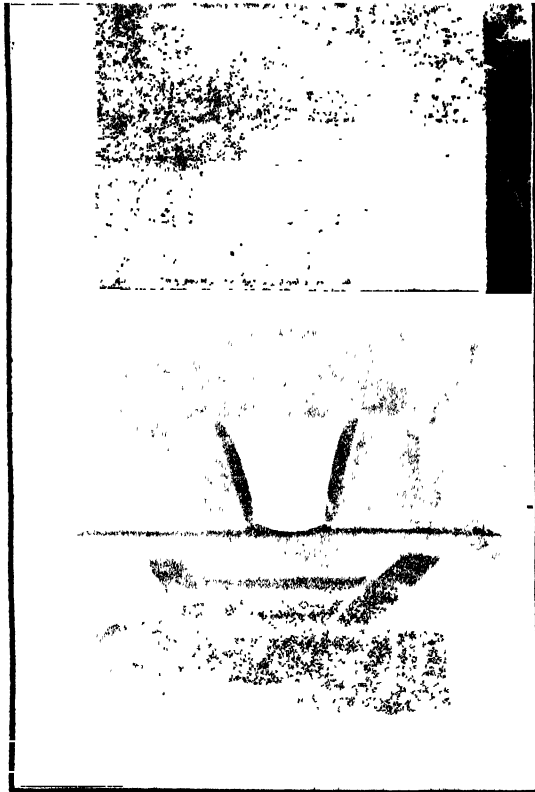


Figure 3.—Bucket latrine; bucket chamber conforming to shape and size of standard-size bucket, and sealed pit for disposal of wash-water

The disposal of wash-water is by means of a soakage pit or a catch pit according to the nature of the soil. If the soil is permeable the soakage pit should be the choice, but if it is not, a catch pit must be provided. A soakage pit is filled with graded sized stones large at the bottom and small on top. These pits have to receive attention from time to time and owing to the indifference of labourers and house-holders, soakage through a sealed pit, which does not need attention, has given good results. The sealed pit for a private bucket latrine would be about 7 to 8 feet deep with the top built and provided with a concrete cover, the wash-water being led through a pipe under the cover. The pipe should preferably be bent at its end and should discharge over the centre of the pit. The outside end of the pipe should be guarded by a mesh to prevent flies and mosquitoes having access and materials blocking it. No stones are placed in the pit, the bottom of which should be 2 or 3 feet above the level of sub-soil water. When the soil has a tendency to cave in, a lining for the sides should be provided. When a catch pit is used, arrangements should be made for the daily removal of the contents as otherwise mosquitoes will breed.

The superstructure is the least important part of the latrine. It merely provides privacy and keeps sun and rain out so that too much money should not be spent on it unless the person can afford to do so. It should let in sufficient light and air. Latrines are not dirty places. They could and should be maintained clean and attractive. For those who sit, the ordinary commode and bucket in a room will serve the purpose.

The contents of buckets should be removed daily in special carts to a sewage farm, where it can be disposed of by (a) trenching, (b) composting and (c) incineration. Incineration is expensive. Trenching in shallow trenches is very satisfactory and composting with house refuse produces a manure which is very useful for agriculture. At the sewage farm, necessary water and washing platform should be provided for cleaning the buckets. The dirty water should be collected and disposed of in one of the trenches or on the compost heap.

The Pit Latrine.—It consists of a pit 15 to 20 feet deep; a squatting platform of cement concrete either 3 ft. 6 in. \times 3 ft. 3 in. or 3 ft. \times 2½ ft. made in moulds and reinforced with iron rods; and a superstructure. The deeper the pit the lesser the nuisance and longer it can be used. The details of the squatting plate are as described earlier. The superstructure again need not be expensive. The only expense should be for the squatting plate which if properly made will last a life time and could be shifted from latrine to latrine when the pits fill. Ablution takes place on the platform and the wash-water finds its way into the pit and not outside. This is necessary to prevent spread of hookworm infestation. Location of pit latrines in relation to the water supply should always be borne in mind. The flow of subsoil water should be from the water supply to

the latrine. Generally it has been found satisfactory if the latrine is erected about a 100 ft. from the well or source water.

The pits are generally dug but they can also be bored for which a special outfit is necessary. The smaller size squatting plate can be used on the bored pits, which are as satisfactory as the dug pits, but they last a family of 5 for about 4 or 5 years. If there are more than this number (5) using it, additional latrines will have to be provided. Owing to the limited capacity of the latrines, they are not satisfactory as public latrines.

Often the problem of high subsoil areas is met with, and the deep pit or bored hole latrines are not satisfactory owing to sub-soil water finding its way into the pit and the consequent splashing and breeding of mosquitoes which become a nuisance. For these situations, the use of the water seal squatting plate has been found very useful and further, such latrines can be made permanent if the pit is placed outside the superstructure so that when it gets full it could be cleaned out and re-used. The water seal plate is the ordinary type of squatting plate with the addition of a trap attached below to the squatting hole opening. The trap could either discharge to a pit directly below or the discharge can be conducted to a built and covered pit outside.

The Trench Latrine.—In the case of temporary camps as festival camps the *trench latrine* will be found to be satisfactory. This consists of a trench about 30 feet long, 5 feet deep, 3 feet wide on top and 2 feet wide at the bottom. This can be divided into 12 compartments by temporary material and the squatting platform could be either the cement concrete squatting plate already described or old railway sleepers cut in two and placed across the trench. In places where old railway sleepers are not available, similar size timber could be used. In the case of festival camps, the squatting plates could be removed and stored to be used again and the same could be done with the timber, if it is properly tarred to prevent white ants attacking it.

All public latrines should have labourers to keep them clean. In the case of trenches, the labourers should cover up the faecal material and for this chloride of lime mixed with earth in the proportion of 1 of the former to 3 of the latter would be found satisfactory. Latrines should not be located too far away from dwellings. They should as far as possible be placed within 30 feet of the back door of the house. Latrines with water seal squatting plates could be placed in a bath room adjoining a house. Every dwelling should have its own latrine.

Water Supply.—Water is essential to the carrying on of life. It is necessary for the various body processes. Water must be pure, i.e., free from the germs of disease and further, must be adequate in quantity for the various needs of the community. The inadequate supply means want of cleanliness

of the person, of his clothes, of the house, of trade premises etc. It also means storage of water in unclean vessels with consequent risk of pollution.

An unwholesome supply means the presence of diseases carried by water such as typhoid fever, cholera, dysentery and diarrhoea. In wartime owing to migration of population and inadequate provision of wholesome supplies, special vigilance and caution should be exercised. What should be aimed at for centres of population are pipe borne systems of supply, the source of which will be under control of the proper authority. These supplies, according to facilities available, should be examined bacteriologically as frequently as possible and should be chlorinated. In most areas the sources of water supply are wells, tanks, streams and rivers.

Wells should be dug in good sites away from and protected from pollution. For effective protection, a well should be cement lined down to the bottom or at least to about 20 feet; should have a parapet wall 3 feet high tapering to a point to prevent people standing or sitting on it or keeping anything on it; should be provided with a cement apron 5 ft. wide sloping away from the mouth of the well and opening to a lead drain at least 10 ft. in length if it cannot be connected to drain close by. For the drawing of water a pump should be provided. When a pump is used the mouth of the well should be covered. If a pump is not available, water should be drawn preferably by a well sweep in which the bucket is in the air when not in use. A bucket and pulley arrangement can be a substitute for the well sweep, but in this method the bucket is in contact with some part of the well and area around it when not in use and is liable to collect pollution.

The most common cause of pollution of wells is the use of private vessels for drawing water. Very frequently these vessels are left in the back yard, where it picks up pollution and the next time it is used, the water in the well gets contaminated. Other ways in which the water of a well could get polluted through its mouth is from using the well for bathing and washing of clothes.

The water in an open well or in tank, stream or river must always be considered as polluted and it should not be used for drinking purposes without being boiled. This is the easiest and most readily available method of purifying it. Every household should have a separate pot in which the drinking water is boiled and set aside for use. The water of a well is disinfected when necessary as during outbreaks of disease and during festivals with tropical chloride of lime. This is the best method. The quantity of water in the well is calculated on the formula $D^2 \times W \times 5$, the result being in gallons, (D = diameter of well and W = height of water in well in feet) and the chemical is added in the proportion of $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 oz. per 1000 gallons. At the end of

15 minutes, when it has been thoroughly mixed with the water, 100 c.c. of treated water is tested with 1 c.c. of 10% solution of orthotolidin. If a pale yellow colouration results, it will indicate that there is a sufficient quantity of excess chlorine available to deal with any micro-organisms. If a deeper colouration results, it only means that more than enough of chlorine has been produced. No harm will accrue from this. The excess will soon disappear.

Drainage.—The wastes of a town are divisible into solids and liquids. For the removal and disposal of the latter, built surface drains are required. Proper drainage is also required for the removal of rain water. Lack of adequate drainage will result in stagnation with consequent untidiness, bad smells, breeding of mosquitoes, etc. Two systems of drains would be required: one system along with the road sides to be constructed by the local authority; and the other at the rear of dwellings to be constructed by the owners. The latter cannot often be constructed without the former being provided.

The questions of drainage and water supply are interdependent. The introduction of the former without the latter means dirty drains with no water to clean them; while the introduction of a water supply without drainage means more water with no method of getting rid of it. The two should go hand in hand. Drainage is an engineering matter. A plan should be prepared as a whole for an area and if money for the whole scheme is not available, parts of it can be taken in hand.

Disposal and Refuse.—The proper collection and disposal of town refuse is particularly important in warm climates, not only from the point of view of cleanliness but also for the more important reason of prevention of breeding of flies, which can transmit diseases of intestinal origin such as cholera, typhoid fever, dysentery and diarrhoea. In dealing with town refuse, it is necessary that: (1) it should be stored in water tight containers and covered for protection from flies; (2) it should be collected daily in covered carts; and (3) disposed of without creating a nuisance and at the same time getting as much use as possible out of it. It can be disposed of in the following ways: (a) by incineration; (b) by dumping the burning; (c) by using it for filling purposes; and (d) by composting it with night soil and getting manure out of it. When using it for filling purposes, it should be adequately covered with earth at the end of each day. In rural areas, the kitchen refuse should be collected in a receptacle and this along with the garden refuse stored in pits to be subsequently used as manure.

During times of war, the normal life of the community being upset, the collection and removal of refuse may not be carried out efficiently for want of labour and disorganization brought about by enemy action. Added to this,

the amount of refuse thrown about may be on the increase as a result of military and similar camps coming up suddenly in certain areas. The normal peace time organisation may be called upon to deal with a larger amount of refuse than it can cope with. The expeditious collection and disposal of the additional refuse will have to be carried out in collaboration with the military and other authorities.

Control of Animals and Insects.—The control of certain animals and insects is of importance from the public health point of view as they are instrumental in transmitting certain diseases to human beings. Those we are concerned with are:—(1) Dogs, because they are subject to rabies; (2) rats, because they are subject to plague; (3) fleas, because they transmit plague from rat to man; (4) mosquitoes, because they transmit malaria, dengue fever, filariasis and yellow fever; (5) flies, because they breed in filth and then settle on food carrying infection to it; and (6) lice, because they transmit typhoid and relapsing fever.

There should be regulations for the licensing of dogs, for their seizure when straying about the streets, and destruction by humane methods when not claimed, and for their immunization against rabies. When a dog has bitten a person and shows no signs of rabies, but there is the possibility of the dog suffering from the disease, the animal should not be killed immediately but should be caught and tied up for 10 days. If at the end of this time there are no signs of the disease, then there is no fear of rabies; but if it does show signs, it should be killed and the brain examined. The person bitten should then take Pasteur treatment.

Rats should be dealt with by rat proofing of buildings, rat trapping, and fumigation and filling of rat holes. Very good results are obtained from periodical cleaning out of buildings, fumigation and filling up of rat holes and removal of rat harbourages. Fleas we are concerned with are those of rats. If the rat population is under control, so will the fleas be. Mosquitoes are dealt with from two points of view: one from the point of view of a carrier of disease and the other of a nuisance. The attack on it can be directed both in the larval and the adult stages. The use of an insecticide containing pyrethrum extract is very effective against the adult. Against the larvae, the well known methods of filling and draining of breeding places as well as oiling and paris greening (for anophelines) can be adopted.

Flies by their habit of setting and feeding on filth carry germs on to the food and drink of man. They convey these organisms on their hairs, especially those of the legs. Such organisms may survive for several hours. Flies deposit vomit and faeces on things they alight on which may thus be dangerously infected. In these ways, diseases like typhoid fever, dysentery, infantile

diarrhoea, cholera and worm infestations may be spread far and wide. Though flies can be destroyed by fly papers, fly traps, swatting, chemical and other insecticides, the most important measure for the control of fly breeding is the removal and disposal of all refuse, filth and sweepings from the vicinity of houses, thereby abolishing their breeding places. What cannot be removed at once should be burnt or covered over. The proper protection of food from flies must be particularly emphasised.

Lice in peace times will be an index of uncleanness, but in times of war, they would be the means by which the spread of typhus would take place. As a household remedy, the use of kerosene oil will get rid of lice. One point to be remembered is that when kerosene oil has been applied, the person should not go near a fire.

Food Sanitation.—Food is one of the vital human needs. Proper control of the sale of food becomes necessary because infection, adulteration or deterioration of it renders it injurious to health. Wholesomeness of food may be affected by: (1) defect of the article itself; (2) preparation in unclean vessels and in an insanitary manner; (3) food handlers who, if suffering from infectious diseases, may transmit to it infections like those of cholera, typhoid fever and dysentery; (4) non-storage in clean covered containers and consequent exposure to dust and flies; (5) use of insufficiently washed utensils off which food is eaten; and (6) unclean surroundings.

Of all foods *milk* receives special attention in public health work. It is considered an ideal food and one that is daily needed and which may be responsible for the spread of disease when it is infected. Milk may be rendered harmful or less nutritious in two ways: (a) by the presence of infectious material and (b) by the extraction of fat or the addition of water.

Milk like all foods should be produced and sold in a cleanly manner. It being opaque, dirt which could be readily seen in water will not be apparent in milk which is a good medium for the growth of organisms, and a few introduced into it will, especially in a warm climate, multiply into millions in a very short time. It is medium by which such diseases as typhoid fever, cholera, dysentery, diarrhoea, diphtheria, septic sore throat, tuberculosis and scarlet fever can be spread. Milk may get infected in the following ways: (1) by the cow; (2) by the milker; (3) by the utensils; (4) by the water used in washing and adulteration; and (5) during transit from producer to consumer.

It is therefore necessary that: (1) the cow should be healthy, properly stalled, fed with wholesome food, and have its surroundings maintained in a clean state. The milking should be done by the dry method and a clean manner; (2) the milker should be clean, free from disease, wear clean clothing and wash his hands before milking; (3) the utensils should be clean, of

good material and the milk pail should be of the small top pattern to prevent dirt getting in while milking. It is very important that they should be boiled, cleaned and aired with the opening down; (4) the water for cleaning should be wholesome, abundant and conveniently situated; and (5) steps should be taken to prevent fraud and contamination during transit by sending out the milk in sealed bottles.

Food sanitation also deals with passing of cattle and goats for slaughter; inspection of meat, fish, vegetables and cooked food exposed for sale; cleanliness of the market and its surroundings; inspections and proper control of food handling establishments such as restaurants, tea kiosks, eating houses, bakeries and aerated water factories.

Housing.—Shelter is another vital human need. A civilization is judged by the grandeur of its buildings and similarly a town or city by the quality of its dwellings. Housing has many sides to it, but the side we are concerned with is its health side. Experience has shown that bad housing means bad health. Housing is considered bad by reason of (1) overcrowding; (2) lack of adequate lighting and ventilation; (3) lack of proper latrine accommodation; (4) lack of a safe water supply; (5) defective repair of buildings; (6) lack of proper drainage; (7) lack of proper disposal of refuse; (8) uncleanness of interior and surroundings; and (9) dampness of buildings.

Bad housing conditions are indicated to a certain extent by the deaths from phthisis and pneumonia. A high infant mortality also means "that a large number of our fellow citizens are living under wretched conditions deprived of most of the advantages, which alone can make life buoyant and happy." Overcrowding, one of the important results of bad housing, is responsible for the spread of infections. Overcrowding may be of two kinds: (a) land overcrowding, i.e., crowding houses on a small area of land; and (b) room overcrowding, i.e., crowding people in rooms. To every family, a home, and to every member, a room, is the ideal to be desired.

Evacuation Camps.—During wartime arrangements will have to be made for housing evacuees from bombed areas and areas likely to be bombed. The buildings needed would be of temporary materials and would consist of long sheds for living accommodation with necessary buildings for cooking, dining, recreation, latrines and urinals, bathing and washing, administration and dispensary, sick and isolation rooms. Proper arrangements should be made for the collection and disposal of all wastes in the camp, as well as for an adequate water supply.

What has been mentioned in regard to evacuation camps will apply to labour and other camps.

Hygiene.—Hygiene will deal with two services:—(1) Maternity and

Child Welfare and (2) School Health Work.

Maternity and Child Welfare.—The object of Maternity and Child Welfare work is to provide for expectant mothers a normal pregnancy and confinement and for infants a healthy childhood. The main principles underlying this work are:—(1) Education, (2) Medical supervision. Mothers chiefly, fathers also, should be educated in the proper care and upbringing of the child. Knowledge so gained will be utilized not only on the children immediately concerned but also on subsequent children mothers may have, and on the children of relatives and neighbours. The expectant mother and child must be watched by the trained eye of the doctor who will detect early any departures from normal and take suitable remedial action before it is too late.

There are two other points worth remembering in Child Welfare Work viz. that—(1) the work must be limited to a definite area, and (2) the idea of attracting attendance at clinics by offering milk and presents as an inducement is not sound. The work requires trained personnel, namely, (a) Medical Officer, (b) Public Health Nurses and (c) Midwives.

It must provide for—(1) Care of the mother (a) ante-natal care; (b) provision of adequate number of maternity beds; (c) trained assistance at child birth; and (d) post partum care. (2) Care of the infant. (3) Care of the pre-school child. (4) Community organizations. And (5) health centres.

Child Welfare Work must not entirely depend on voluntary workers. There must be trained paid workers who will, with the regularity of the clock, carry out a well planned scheme. The work is carried out by (a) home visiting and (b) clinics. The former is carried out by the Public Health Nurse, while the latter is conducted by the doctor assisted by the Public Health Nurse and Midwife. Separate ante-natal and baby clinics should be held and the educational feature of the work always kept in view. There is better attendance of expectant mothers when separate clinics are held for them.

The work of the Public Health Nurse is predominantly educational. She does this at her home visits when she instructs and demonstrates how the necessary care should be given to the expectant mother and child, and by group talks at clinics. She supervises the work of the Midwife.

The Midwife has a definite area assigned to her. She visits different parts of it each day to find expectant mothers. When she finds them, she makes friends with them; has them visited by the Public Health Nurse who provides them with ante-natal advice; gets them to visit the clinic to be examined by the doctor and observed; makes arrangements for the confinement if it is to come off in the home; conducts the confinement and looks after the mother and child for 10 days after confinement. The midwife should also be trained to carry out educational work of an elementary nature.

The activities at the ante-natal clinic consist of:—examination of expectant mothers; taking of pelvimetric measurements, of blood pressure, of blood for wassermann when indicated; giving of hookworm treatment; examination of urine; giving of advice by the doctor; advising and arranging for institutional treatment in abnormal cases and group talks by the nurse.

The activities at baby clinics consist of weighing of babies, examination of babies by the doctor and giving of advice by the nurse, group talks to mothers, "little mothers" classes, giving of milk to needy children, giving of shark liver oil and attention to minor ailments.

Preschool children are attended to at Child Welfare Clinics and by home visits. Community organizations sponsor the work in the area. They provide the necessary co-operation of the public in the work and hold themselves responsible for furnishing the necessary food and other assistance to needy mothers and children. Members of the community organization attend the clinics, assist and nurse, attend to the distribution of milk and to the teaching of sewing to "little mothers".

Health centres are places where the ante-natal and baby clinics are held and the various activities connected with them. These need not be elaborate buildings. Work could be started in any available building till some one makes a donation of a suitable one as a matter of co-operation. The results of the work should be demonstrated by a reduction in the infant and maternal death rates.

School Health Work.—The health of the school child is of vital importance to the nation. Through the care of the pre-school child, it should be the endeavour to send into school a child free from defects. It then becomes the function of the school health service to conserve and strengthen his physical and mental fitness with the ultimate purpose of laying the foundations of racial vigour and capacity. The scheme of school health work provides for:—(1) school sanitation; (2) medical inspection of school children; (3) follow up and correction of defects; (4) control of communicable diseases; and (5) health education. The rationale of the work is as follows: if a child is taken away from his home he must be placed in sanitary surroundings; therefore school sanitation should receive attention. If a child is placed in school, he should be in the best possible condition to benefit to the utmost by the teaching; therefore medical inspection to discover defects is provided for. The mere discovery of defects being of little practical value unless they are corrected, correction of defects is arranged for. When children come together in large numbers, there is a tendency for the spread of communicable diseases; therefore control of communicable diseases is provided for. Finally, it should be the object to prevent defects occurring or recurring and hence health education by which

proper habits of living will be inculcated into the child.

Health Education and Publicity.—In the past the health official played the part of a policeman, but today, he plays the role of a teacher. The rate of progress of public health work depends on the degree of co-operation that can be secured from the public. As a temporary measure compulsion can be used, but to obtain permanent results, education is necessary.

There is a great deal of scientific information which, if made use of, will prevent much human disease and suffering. An important and difficult function of a health organization is getting this information over to the public. It ordinarily takes a generation of time for knowledge of new health principles to permeate the thoughts of a mass of people. The object of health education is to hasten this. The various methods of educating the public in health matters are:—Personal Contact, Talks and Discussions, Health Leagues, Newspapers, Posters and Handbills, Leaflets and Pamphlets, Bulletins, Lectures with and without the lantern, Cinema Shows, Radio Talks, Demonstration Vans, Health Exhibitions, Health and Baby Weeks.

Medical Care.—When public health services have provided for the preventive care of the individual from the time of conception to the time of death through prenatal, natal, infant, pre-school, school and adult hygiene, public health requires that adequate curative provision should be made as well for the correction of physical and mental ailments of the necessitous population which could not be prevented. This should be made available through hospitals and dispensaries. Hospitals will be general and special. The latter will include Sanatoria for Tuberculosis and Leprosy, Mental Hospitals, Ophthalmic Hospitals, Dental Hospitals, Infectious Diseases Hospitals, Children's Hospitals, Maternity Hospitals etc.

The general tendency is for the better equipped and staffed hospitals to be overcrowded. A number of these hospitals should be distributed throughout the country at headquarter stations, and they should have facilities for some of the specialities. In addition to this type of hospitals, there will be others equipped and staffed on a less pretentious scale. These institutions are provided not only by Government but also by such organizations as Missions and Commercial Companies.

Some dispensaries will be in the charge of doctors while others in rural areas may be under auxiliary medical personnel called Apothecaries, hospital assistants or dressers. The former type of dispensary should conduct, besides ordinary work, special clinics such as Venereal Diseases Clinics, Tuberculosis Clinics and Maternity and Child Welfare Clinics. Dispensaries in charge of auxiliary medical personnel will deal with ordinary cases.

The provision of maternity care is very essential. In large cities special

maternity hospitals would be needed, but in other places, maternity wards attached to general hospitals would be economical. In rural areas where a midwife cannot get around owing to difficulties of travel, simple maternity homes for normal cases in immediate charge of trained midwives under the supervision of visiting medical officers have proved very useful.

The method of organization of medical care should be by hospital areas, i.e. the country should be divided into definite districts for the purpose. These districts, as far as possible, should coincide with recognized administrative divisions. Each division or area should have its main or central hospital, its subsidiary hospitals and dispensaries. Simple cases should receive attention at the dispensary, but those that need hospital treatment should be sent to the nearest subsidiary hospital, and only those that require specialized treatment should go to the central or main hospital. Cases that have reached the stage of convalescence at a main hospital and subsequent treatment for whom could be carried out at a subsidiary hospital should be transferred there, so that beds at the central hospital would be available for other cases. The necessary transport should be provided.

The dispensaries under auxiliary medical personnel should be scheduled to subsidiary hospitals, the medical officers of which could act as consultants to them. These subsidiary hospitals should not be turned into poor houses. Patients of the type that would be suitable for poor houses should have suitable accommodation provided elsewhere for them so that they will not occupy hospital beds.

In wartime provision for the care of air raid casualties is an important and necessary matter. These casualties will have to be dealt with at the sites of incidents and then will have to be transported to the hospital. The casualty service is best organized by the health officer of the area. He, in addition to making use of some of his staff, will require assistance from voluntary and paid workers who will have to be trained for the work. The main object of this service should be to get the casualties that need hospital attention away to the hospital as quickly as possible, because it is there that proper care can be given. Other casualties could be attended to at first aid posts.

If there is more than one hospital in a locality, the area should be so divided that it would be known to which particular hospital casualties from each area would be sent. Once the casualties arrive at the hospital, the organization there will take necessary action. In the hospital, emergency beds, emergency equipment, emergency staff and a proper procedure for handling the casualties as they come in should be arranged for. In general, the proper handling of casualties brought in would provide for sorting out by doctors and labelling them to be removed for attention to the different sections as

follows: (a) for minor injuries; (b) for minor surgical operations; (c) for resuscitation and major surgical operations; (d) for medical care; (e) burns and (f) for observation of those dying.

Arrangements should be made for extra hospital accommodation away from a target area (a) to serve as a base hospital for sending air raid casualties after attention at a Casualty Clearing Hospital; and (b) to shift all the patients in the event of the hospital being hit. It should be seen that this extra accommodation is easily accessible and there is necessary transport.

While the general A. R. P. work would be under a Civil Defence Commissioner, for medical matters connected with A. R. P., the Director of Health should have his officer associated with the senior A. R. P. personnel so that all civilian medical work will be under one central control.

IS CO-OPERATION SUITED TO RURAL INDIA ?

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA

In view of the many criticisms which have been levelled against the Co-operative Movement, Mr. Vajkunth L. Mehta, being convinced of its supreme value to the peasant, points out very clearly in this article not only the defects but the achievements of the Movement and the directions in which it should develop in the future to play its proper role in Indian rural economy.

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IN a paper submitted to the last session of the Indian Economic Conference held in Bombay in January 1942, the present writer dealt with some of the deficiencies of rural co-operation in India. This was one among 21 papers presented to the Conference on the subject of rural co-operation. The writers of the bulk of these papers appeared to entertain doubts whether co-operation was suited to our rural conditions; and in support of their doubts they had adduced figures relating to the working of co-operative societies in various parts of India or quoted authoritative publications, both official and non-official. Co-operation, several of these economists seemed to urge, might be good in theory, it might have succeeded in western climes, but it was altogether unsuited to the rural conditions in India. Co-operation, one writer observed, was inapplicable to economically undeveloped and backward countries, while another put forward the view that co-operation was suited only to the surplus economy and to the habits of the German and Danish peasants.

To what extent are these views borne out by experience in India and elsewhere ? In the first place, if one examines the papers before the Indian Economic Conference in which these views are set forth, one finds that when the writers speak of co-operation, they have in mind mainly, if not merely, rural co-operative credit. The criticism that the papers contain is, in the bulk, of the working of agricultural credit societies. Few of the writers attempt to think of the development of co-operation for purposes other than credit. It is true that other forms of co-operation have made little progress in a majority of provinces and States ; but when dismissing the co-operative movement as unsuited to India's rural conditions, serious students of economics should make it clear whether their observations apply only to one aspect of co-operation or to all aspects. To assess the utility of a form of economic organization merely on the experience of one aspect of it is scarcely sound in reasoning.

The rural co-operative movement in India is mainly confined to credit,

because it was intended originally to meet the twin evils of usury and indebtedness. Credit, moreover, as observed by Sir Horace Plunkett, is the most educative form of co-operation for backward rural communities. But the movement is no longer confined to credit. In several provinces, new development is confined mostly to organizations intended for undertaking non-credit activities. Several of these non-credit institutions, such as those for the marketing of cotton and gur in Bombay, consolidation of holdings in the Punjab, sugarcane supply in the United Provinces and Bihar, irrigation in Bengal, have made considerable headway. The well-developed among these institutions can stand comparison with the best among similar organizations in any part of the world. Moreover, the fact that the number, size and strength of these institutions continue to grow indicates that whatever the scope for co-operative credit in India, other forms of co-operation do find increasing adherents among the rural community and give all evidence of progressive development.

Those who run down the co-operative movement ignore its utility to the rural community in manifold directions. In what sense is the Indian peasant inferior to his confreres in other countries that he should be deemed unfit to take advantage of this form of economic organization which has, by experience, been found suitable for groups of isolated, unassertive peasants and artisans in all countries? There is scarcely any well-developed country in the world to-day where the peasant and the artisan do not resort to the co-operative method for organizing their economy activities and promoting their common interests. Country after country, as Sir Malcolm Darling remarks in a recent publication, has adopted co-operation as the surest defence against the rapacity and chicanery of the modern world. One has yet to see a country of peasants and small farmers where credit or other aspects of economic life are satisfactorily organized on any basis other than the co-operative. Even China has learnt the lesson, and the recent development of the Industrial Co-operatives in that country show how quickly the farmer and the artisan respond when they are approached in the right manner and through the proper agency. Admitting that results in India are not commensurate with the efforts made, the reasons for this comparative lack of success must be sought elsewhere than in the theory of co-operation or in the ability of our peasants and artisans to imbibe and apply it.

Few among the writers of the papers before the Indian Economic Conference have sought for an explanation of the non-success of rural co-operative credit in India in the method of organization or control pursued in our country. The movement has never ceased to be a State-sponsored one in India ; and looking to the distance that separates the leaders of the nation

from those in authority, one can easily understand why it has failed to evoke ready response or to make an appeal to young and ardent spirits among the rural community as a field for rendering national service. To quote Sir Malcolm Darling again, rightly or wrongly, most of these young men and women regard the country as still not their own, governed as it is by an administration not of their choosing. That is one of the most serious drawbacks in the association of the State in India with the Co-operative Movement. Again, constituted as they are, Government are so out of touch with public feeling and sentiment that despite their control of the machinery of administration they fail in their efforts to seek an expansion of the movement or to ensure its ordered growth through its own self-governing organizations for mutual control and guidance. State aid in the form of grants or loans—which are, albeit, on none too lavish a scale in most parts of India—cannot replace this indirect service that is rendered by the State in other countries. A movement which is not permitted to draw strength and inspiration from its own leaders tends to deteriorate into a governmental routine.

There is an impression in some circles that spoonfeeding has been the bane of the co-operative movement in India. Taking the rural credit structure, towards which criticism is usually directed, it may be asserted, on the basis of statistical evidence, that scarcely any funds are normally made available by Government, barring loans for construction of godowns allowed in Madras in the shape of loans to members of co-operative societies. This is apart from the special funds made available in a couple of provinces to enable central financing agencies to meet their liabilities in view of the emergency caused by the depression. Little if anything by way of subsidies is given for meeting the cost of administration of co-operative societies themselves and in most provinces even the cost of Government audit has to be paid for. All that Provincial Government do is to maintain a staff of controlling officers under the Registrars of Co-operative Societies which enables the Co-operative Departments to exercise wider powers of actual control over the working of societies than are vested in the Registrars under the statute.

While Government assistance has usually not been forthcoming or has not been very helpful, Government interference has, on the whole, had a disturbing and unhealthy influence. It has sapped the sense of responsibility among the management of the primary units and has smothered, very largely, local enterprise and initiative and discouraged, on the whole, experiments and innovations. It has, besides, stimulated among the federal and financing agencies a desire to take a hand in the management of primary units. This has led to the employment of a paid agency at various stages for the work of administration of propaganda and guidance, of supervision and control, in-

stead of depending on the education and training of local office-bearers to attend to their duties. This policy has made the cost of administration heavy and has prevented the rates of interest on lendings being kept down and gradually reduced. The other undesirable consequence has been that it has made the system of finance rigid without rendering it fool-proof. Inelasticity and delays in the dispensing of credit are two common charges levelled against co-operative credit in India, for which the over-elaborate superstructure of supervision and financial control is mostly responsible. It will be too much to claim that with the rearing of this superstructure risks of over-financing have been eliminated or unpunctuality and default have been brought under control. The remedy lies not in tightening the reins of control but in providing more and more of education for the general body of members and for office-bearers, and in fostering habits of self-government and mutual control.

Even though one may recognize the limitations of co-operative credit, it is difficult to concede that this form of co-operation is unsuited to a country with a backward rural economy. The disasters that have overtaken the rural co-operative credit structure in several parts of India may be traced mainly to two factors, for which the present system of Government of India is principally responsible. The first of these factors is the crippling effect of the economic depression which overwhelmed India, along with other countries, in 1930-31. But to quote from one of the papers read at the Indian Economic Conference, "whereas the farmers in U. S. A. are safeguarded by President Roosevelt's New Deal, and in England by protective tariffs, the farmer in India has been neither effectively assisted nor adequately safeguarded." One regrets, however, to note that few, if any, among the writers of the papers presented to the Conference made any allowance for this factor in dealing with the defects and deficiencies of the rural co-operative credit movement in India. It was inevitable that the task of adjustment to the new level of the prices of primary products was altogether beyond the capacity of agricultural producers or their financing agencies. In the absence of action on the part of the State to provide relief to the agriculturist, the entire machinery of credit was thrown out of gear. If evil features have crept in in the working of the mechanism, this may have been due, to some extent, to the haphazard, often futile and frantic, attempts made to adjust the mechanism to the changed condition of things.

The second factor is the permanent state of the deficit economy that prevails among the bulk of the peasantry in our own country. With every decade that passes, the distress and the poverty of large masses of our rural population becomes intensified by the British rule. The pressure of population on the soil has increased enormously during the last seventy years, local crafts

and industries have decayed in the absence of any plan to check the import of cheap machine-made goods, and land shows a tendency to pass, in several provinces, from the hands of the cultivating classes to those of the rentier classes. No system of rural credit, however efficient and well-regulated, can prove a success if it is to function in such condition of economy. Through their Co-operative, Agricultural and Industrial Departments, Provincial Governments are attempting to change these conditions of rural economy for the better. These attempts have, however, been confined to isolated villages or individuals, but have scarcely yet embraced large sections of agriculturists or artisans specifically organized for purposes of economic betterment. Once the co-operative credit societies were started in rural areas, it should have been part of the programme of any well-planned development to make the members of these societies better farmers and artisans through the agency of credit societies or of co-operative institutions for various purposes started and run with the aid of Government's nation-building departments. It is in these conditions of improved economy alone that rural co-operative credit can thrive. If, for this reason, rural co-operative credit has failed in its purpose so far, economists may do well to bear this factor in mind before they propound schemes of organization which, with the persistence of conditions such as obtain to-day, will have to court a similar failure.

It is pertinent, at this stage, to present a bird's eye picture of the rural co-operative movement in India. The following table gives some idea of the general course of the development of agricultural societies since the introduction of the movement in 1904:—

<i>Period</i>	<i>Number of Societies</i>	<i>Number of Members</i>
Average for 5 years from 1906-07 to 1909-10	1,713	107,643
„ „ „ 1910-11 to 1914-15	10,891	459,096
„ „ „ 1915-16 to 1919-20	25,873	902,930
„ „ „ 1920-21 to 1924-25	51,716	1,661,098
„ „ „ 1925-26 to 1929-30	83,093	2,791,562
„ „ „ 1930-31 to 1934-35	93,149	3,063,628
„ „ „ 1935-36 to 1939-40	101,507	3,437,873
„ „ „ 1940-41	123,976	4,446,452

These figures relate to all the provinces and the principal Indian States, namely, Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Kashmir, Travancore, Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal and Cochin. The number of societies per 100,000 of the population of these provinces and States was 41.9, according to the figures for 1940-41. The corresponding proportion borne by the membership per 1000 inhabitants was

18.8. Of the total number of societies shown above, the number of credit societies, exclusive of land mortgage banks and one insurance society, was 104,084 and of non-credit societies 19,639. The non-credit societies are classified as under :

<i>Type</i>	<i>Number of Societies</i>
Purchase and sale	547
Production	5,298
Production and sale	6,493
Other forms of co-operation	7,301

Separate figures are not available from the all-India statistical tables about the membership and operations of the credit and non-credit societies.

It can be seen from the figures that not more than about one-eighth of the total number of villages in India are served by co-operative societies and that the proportion of the rural population brought within the fold of the movement (1.3 per cent.) is still smaller. The limited dimensions that these figures represent constitute a charge against the co-operative movement. The dimensions differ from province to province; but it is undoubtedly true that after the depression there is no striking progress recorded in the growth of rural co-operative credit, except in the province of Bengal. The reason for this is not far to seek. The disruption of the basis of rural credit, which the depression brought in its train left little scope or provided little encouragement for the organization of new credit institutions. Besides, the setback that rural economy suffered in consequence of the depression added to the number of farmers whose credit-worthiness was below the marginal level. As M. Colombain points out in the "International Labour Review" (Vol. XLV, No. 6) in relation to the United States of America, co-operative credit presupposes that those who belong to it not only wish to help themselves but have the strength and means to do so. But, he adds, in the Southern States particularly, many farmers are not in a position to draw on themselves for the necessary strength until that strength is brought to them from outside. That condition of lack of strength which was there already in rural India became aggravated as a result of the depression.

The second line of criticism is with regard to the one-sidedness of the rural movement as indicated by the small number of societies for purposes other than credit. Here too, the position is not equally unsatisfactory in all provinces. In provinces like the United Provinces and the Punjab, the number of non-credit societies has grown rapidly in recent years, and in several other provinces, and States too, new organization is confined to non-credit co-operation. As the problem that the movement set out, originally to solve was that of usury and indebtedness, it was natural that attention

came to be confined to credit. Besides, the credit society is looked upon as the simplest form of co-operative endeavour and as providing a training ground for higher forms of co-operation. Actually, in view of the prevalence of a state of deficit economy, there are more difficulties that beset the working of credit societies in India than are often met with in the running of non-credit institutions with a limited objective. This is exemplified by the success of societies for the consolidation of holdings in the Punjab and of the marketing societies in Bombay. Nevertheless, the fact remains that in making any scheme of co-operative marketing and supply, land development or irrigation to succeed, credit plays an important part both for the individuals and the organizations. Hence, even though the need for forming non-credit societies may have been recognized, to organize them in large numbers has not been by any means an easy task.

A brief description of these primary units will not be out of place. The predominant type, the agricultural credit society, is based on the Raiffeisen model. In this type of society, the area of operations is limited to ensure mutual knowledge and mutual supervision. These serve as a basis for the joint and unlimited liability that members of this type of society usually assume. Each member has one vote in the affairs of the society. Management is entrusted to an elected committee whose services are honorary. Reliance is placed on personal rather than on material security, and large or long-term loans on mortgage security are, hence, the exception rather than the rule. Recently, the societies have been called upon to restrict their operations to productive short-term loans repayable at harvest. The accounts and records are maintained by a secretary who, in most of the provinces, is paid some remuneration. Supervision is exercised by local supervising unions in Bombay and Madras; by provincial or regional federations in a few provinces; by central banks in some others and by the Co-operative Departments elsewhere. Audit is almost invariably conducted and controlled by Government.

Two special types of agricultural credit societies need particular mention. These are grain banks and land mortgage banks. The former class of societies are found ordinarily in backward tracts or among backward communities, principally in Behar. They collect shares and deposits through contributions made in grain, and grant loans for seed or maintenance in the shape of grain returnable at harvest at rates of interest much lower than those charged by local lenders conducting this form of business. This type of organization has recently been popularized in some parts of Bombay and has a good future before it, especially among the poorer classes of peasants.

A very different form of organization is the land mortgage bank. This is intended mainly for the better classes of peasants who have mortgage

security to offer. This type of institution was first started in the Punjab to provide credit for land improvement and for the redemption of prior debts. It has been taken up now in most provinces and several States as will be seen from the following figures:—

<i>Name of State or Province</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Societies</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Working Capital</i>
Madras		120	65,712	5,36,89,460
Bombay		18	10,523	68,61,529
Bengal		5	2,624	6,83,153
Orissa		1	442	1,36,153
United Provinces		5	775	2,00,581
Punjab		10	3,843	12,13,002
C. P. & Berar		21	6,300	15,92,894
Assam		4	1,729	4,09,628
Ajmer Merwara		12	1,229	71,606
Mysore		53	7,335	29,56,861
Baroda		2	2,193	8,48,770
Cochin		1	2,425	17,83,212
Total		252	105,280	7,04,73,035

The bulk of the capital is derived by the issue of debentures. In most parts of India the principal of, and interest on, the debentures are guaranteed by Government and the debentures rank as trustee securities. This movement has been helpful in relieving the burden of debt and reducing the incidence of interest charges, particularly in the Province of Madras.

The official classification of the non-credit societies referred to earlier does not convey an exact idea of the place occupied by the institutions in rural economy. The most important section in this group, and also the most numerous, is the marketing societies. Societies for the supply of sugar-cane to sugar factories in Bihar and the United Provinces constitute a class by themselves. The former province has 1,488 societies of this type and the latter 838. With administrative assistance from Government and placed in a special relationship to the sugar factories in the areas in which they operate, they have in recent years had an appreciable effect on the economic life of the agriculturists brought within the range of their activities. Milk supply societies in the vicinity of Calcutta and Madras form an equally important group, as do the ghee production and sale societies in the United Provinces. Prominent among other institutions in the group are the cotton and gul sale societies in Bombay. The bulk of these function more or less as commission shops. But the cotton sale societies in Gujarat pool the produce and distribute average prices, while the societies in the Karnatak, and more recently in

Khandesh, act as agents for the popularizing of improved varieties of cotton. The purchase and sale societies in Madras have come into prominence because of the extensive facilities they have been the means of providing—to the extent of about a crore of Rupees—for the grant of advances against agricultural produce in rural centres.

Societies for the consolidation of holdings had their origin in the Punjab and now the membership is 1,477 in that province, and 112 in the United Provinces. During the 20 years since the movement was inaugurated, it has led to the consolidation of 10.75 lacs of acres. These societies are intended to enable agriculturists to reshuffle their holdings and agree to schemes for the consolidation of small and scattered holdings on a voluntary basis with the aim of promoting economy in, and efficiency of, cultivation. The work is carried out with the aid of a special staff provided for this purpose by the Co-operative Department. They are a form of better farming societies of which an increasing number is now found in some provinces. Akin to these latter in their structure are better living societies for the promotion of education and social welfare among the village communities they serve. A specialized form of better living societies are the anti-malarial and health societies of Bengal. In Bengal are also found irrigation societies, numbering over a thousand and taking in hand schemes of minor irrigation works on behalf of their members. Co-operative farming is not unknown, but it has not developed enough to merit any detailed reference. There has been somewhat greater progress—though wholly incommensurate with the requirements of the situation—in the organization of resource or producers' societies for rural workers engaged in cottage industries. Handloom weaving is the only industry that has received systematic attention; apart from this, it is only in Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Mysore State that cottage workers have been brought under the influence of the co-operative movement.

The primary societies of different types drew finance from various sources as will be seen from the following table:—

	<i>Agricultural</i>	<i>Non-agricultural</i>
	Rs.	Rs.
Shares	4,15,36,239	6,58,76,397
Reserve Funds	7,27,04,591	2,43,05,884
Deposits :		
Members	1,22,97,197	9,29,07,426
Non-members	1,15,30,432	6,60,80,595
Societies	9,78,115	24,44,967
Provincial or Central Bank	15,31,41,075	1,22,09,780
Government	7,78,208	47,90,301

A large source for the supply of funds, it will be seen, is central banks. These are institutions started at district or taluka towns, principally with the object of meeting the credit needs of primary societies in the district or taluka. They have usually a mixed membership of societies and individuals, but there is a growing number of pure types of banks, particularly for small compact areas. To balance the excess or deficiency in the resources of these banks there are at the apex provincial co-operative banks in most provinces and in a few States. The number and resources of these banks are shown in the following table:—

<i>Type</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Working Capital</i>
Provincial Banks	10	13,89,22,445
Central Banks	601	29,32,47,514

At the conclusion of this survey of the position of rural co-operation in India, it will be useful to present an outline of the planning that is necessary to enable the movement to play its proper role in Indian rural economy. For the growth of the co-operative movement, it is necessary, in the first place, that there should be emphasis laid on aspects and forms other than credit. For the revival and reorganization of co-operative credit societies themselves, prompt and vigorous action should be taken for the realization of frozen dues by a process of conciliation and compounding. A regular programme should be drawn up and completed within a brief period, not exceeding two years. Frozen and long term debts of co-operative credit societies should be separated from their short and intermediate term commitments. Arrangements should be made, in so far as is possible, to transfer the former to land mortgage banks. The scope of working of co-operative credit societies in future should be limited strictly to the provision of short and intermediate term credit. Agricultural credit should be definitely linked up with marketing and, if possible, with the supply of agricultural requisites, by appropriate changes in the constitution and working of primary credit societies. Suitable machinery should be devised for collecting the produce of agriculturists at all rural centres of importance and for arranging for its being marketed through co-operative agency. Facilities appreciated by agriculturists, such as the receipt of deposits from them in the shape of grain, the grant of advances in the form of grain, or the provision of accommodation against produce held in stock, should be gradually introduced and extended. The ideal should be to assist a rural credit society to assume the form and proportions of a village bank. For this purpose, the acceptance of deposits and the opening of savings bank accounts by village societies should be encouraged under proper safeguards.

Reference has been made above to the need for diverting attention to forms of co-operation other than credit. The credit society is merely one of the constituents of the organization to be built up for the agricultural industry. Agricultural organization may start with the credit society, but should not end there. First will come the development of marketing and of the supply of agricultural requisites such as seed of pure strains. From these initial attempts should be evolved organizations for better farming and, where conditions favour it, joint farming. The last stage will be collective farming. Included in the co operative programme of better farming may be schemes for the development of dairying or other secondary occupations based on agricultural production, bunding and anti-erosion schemes, the extension of approved dry-farming methods, the increase of well irrigation, land reclamation and schemes of joint irrigation by the construction of minor works or otherwise, fencing, crop protection, consolidation of holdings, and similar activities which can be taken in hand for the promotion of common economic interests. The revival of cottage industries which utilize locally agricultural products has also to be taken in hand, in collaboration with other agencies interested in the welfare of the rural population such as the All India Spinners' Association or the All India Village Industries Association. When this reorientation occurs the co-operative movement will become a national movement for agricultural organization and rural reconstruction.

From the remarks made earlier, it will be observed that in relation to primary units the aim of supervision and inspection, whether provided by unions or financing agencies, should be not to replace internal checks and control, but to supplement these. A supervising authority, other than the financing agency, may be created so as, later on, to function as a federal controlling agency. The goal should be the creation of an apex federal organization that will replace the control exercised now by a Department of Government. Hence, while the administrative machinery may be strengthened and the powers enjoyed under the law duly exercised, the Co-operative Department should not so function as to make the general public feel that co-operation is merely a governmental policy. The sense of responsibility should not be sapped nor freedom of initiative fettered. Increase in Government staff may be necessary but only for aiding in programmes of special development and agricultural organization. State aid should ordinarily be through federal, preferably apex, institutions and not direct. State aid may take the form of a guarantee for the principal of, and interest on, shares or debentures, of subventions, subsidies and grants, of loan of staff, of concessions regarding the acquisition or use of land for approved purposes. The nature and the extent of State aid will, naturally, differ from province to province.

It has to be admitted that even today one of the most serious defects of the co-operative movement in India is the inability of members of societies to manage the affairs of their own societies owing to lack of education in co-operation and training in business. To meet this need, in every province bodies known as unions federations, institutes or organization societies were started to provide facilities for training in education and business practice. In several provinces, such institutions came to be dominated by Government, in others, in the absence of adequate resources of their own, they had constantly to look up to Government for grants and subsidies. The decade from 1920 to 1930 witnessed much activity on the part of these bodies, but there has been a setback during the last five years, particularly since Departments of Co-operation in the Provinces inaugurated their own schemes for training and education out of the grants placed at their disposal by the Government of India. They set up their own machinery for carrying out the scheme and this had naturally an adverse effect on the educational activities of the non-official organizations which were overshadowed by the new official arrangements. In some of the provinces the desires of the provincial administrations to assume responsibility for and control of supervision had also a similar disheartening effect on the popular bodies devoted to the cause of co-operative education. For this reason, the sympathies and support of social workers and educationists interested in rural economic problems are not harnessed in the cause of co-operative education. Without such backing, it is difficult to have a nationwide drive for the promotion of this particular branch of adult education which, as in other countries, ought to play an important part in furthering rural reorganization. Stress has been laid above on the importance of evolving a self-governing organization on a democratic basis. To strengthen the foundations of the self-governing structure, it is necessary to provide facilities for co-operative education for all types of persons associated with it and at all stages. The publication of cheap and readable literature in all the languages of the country is an urgent necessity. Other methods of public education, such as the display of charts and posters, films, lantern slides etc., will have to be taken in hand. The programme should be linked up with plans of adult education, treating co-operative instruction as education in business. It may be added that State aid will be essential for the extension of these facilities for education. That is, however, different from having the machinery for co-operative education run or controlled by Government.

To sum up: to the present writer the word failure as applied even to rural co-operative credit in India is inappropriate. Studied all over the country there are numerous isolated units which, in the face of the most disheartening conditions, have emerged successfully so far from all the tests to

which they have been subjected. Their affairs have been managed honestly and conscientiously by a succession of office-bearers. They have met their liabilities punctually and they have realised their outstanding claims without resort to civil litigation or to arbitration. They dispense credit regularly on well-ordered but somewhat conservative lines. They have occasionally redeemed outside debts, and have often obviated the need for resort to money-lenders. They provide credit at rates cheaper than are available locally and have thus helped in bringing down local rates of interest. They have built up substantial reserves out of profits and have accumulated—though somewhat rarely—their own share and deposit capital. They have thrown up good workers who are helpful in the management of the higher grades of institutions such as supervising or banking unions, banks, educational institutes and marketing or supply societies. Above all, they have stimulated a desire for economic development of diverse types on the basis of thrift, self-help and mutual aid and, at the same time, they themselves function as an alternative regulated credit agency which has broken the unwholesome monopoly of the money-lender. There is still much that remains undone much, moreover, that is defective and deficient in the system of co-operative credit. But when rural co-operation is described by responsible economists as having been found unsuitable for India and as having failed it is necessary to emphasise the features of rural economy making for weakness, to stress the factors responsible for lack of success, to draw attention to the achievements recorded by the movement in the sphere of rural credit and to indicate the comprehensive aims of the movement, the pursuit of which is now the principal task before co-operative workers.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P. M. TITUS

THE most unexpected and sudden death of Dr. P. M. Titus, M.A., B.D., Ph.D. on November 24th of this year has left the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work bereft of one of the most popular and beloved of its faculty members. Dr. Titus left for his home town in Trivandrum for the October holidays and after an operation for piles was about to leave for Bombay when he was laid up with typhoid which proved fatal. The news of his untimely death came as a shock and a blow to the School and to his numerous friends, admirers and relatives in India and America as well.

While receiving his training for Social Work at the University of Chicago, he had come in intimate contact with the late Dr. Holt who, seeing the excellent qualities of his character and scholarship, specially trained him for work in the Tata School with which Dr. Holt himself was connected as Visiting Professor for one term in 1937-38. Hence, when he returned to India in 1939, he was fully equipped to fill the post of Lecturer at the Tata School where, within a short time, through his industry, genuine interest in social welfare, sincerity of purpose and infectious zeal in attacking socio-economic problems, he won the admiration of students and faculty alike, and created an abiding place for himself in the School. He was a clear, logical and forceful thinker with sound ethical principles and sane balanced judgment. He brought these qualities to bear not only on his duties as a lecturer but on his contributions to the *Indian Journal of Social Work*. Through this medium, he made invaluable contributions to the field of professional social work not only through his challenging articles but also through his incisive criticisms of current socio-economic problems. His indefatigable efforts towards building up the School Library will always be remembered.

While in America, he was elected President of the Student Council at the International House, Chicago, and as such rendered yeoman service to the cause of international friendship and brotherhood, and won a large circle of friends and admirers. At the conferences of foreign students held at Brent House, Chicago, he used to be one of the most prominent figures and promoters of international goodwill. His genial personality, his irrepressible sense of humour, his indomitable courage in fighting for a just cause, and his burning enthusiasm to set right some of the evils and injustices of our present times endeared him to one and all. Always a friend of the needy and a self-

less champion of the down-trodden, he died at a premature age leaving behind him a vast circle of relatives and friends, both in India and America, to bemoan his death. His loss has caused an emptiness in the Tata School which will be hard to fill.

NEW MAGISTRATE OF BOMBAY CHILDREN'S COURT

THE appointment of Dr. Katayun Cama as The Presidency Magistrate of the Bombay Juvenile Court in October last has deprived The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work and the Child Guidance Clinic attached to it of a very able and efficient member of the staff; but in spite of our loss, it was with pleasure that we read the announcement of her appointment as it is a practical expression of the advancement of social progress which is a matter of extreme satisfaction for all thinking people. The Government of Bombay are to be congratulated for appointing a Magistrate who is well versed by training and practical experience in the field of Child Psychology and Child Guidance, and who has come into intimate contact in her past work with the problems of rehabilitation of delinquent children.

Dr. Cama's scientific training, her keen intelligence, and progressive outlook, and her initiative and drive, and her ability to deal with problems with scientific objectivity—all these qualities, which made her valuable as an educationist for some years and more recently as Psychologist to the Child Guidance Clinic, will also serve her in good stead in her new work and make her a very suitable person for the post. Likewise, her winning manners and particularly her love of children and the friendliness with which she deals with them, her genuine concern for the betterment of the treatment and care of delinquent children will all ensure a high standard of Juvenile Court service in Bombay while, at the same time, her pleasing personality will be of help from the point of view of keeping up of the benign and informal form of discipline desirable in a Juvenile Court and of discharging the onerous duties of a Magistrate.

Dr. Cama's training in Psychology and her experience as a teacher of psychology and mental hygiene will make her successful also in the direction of giving guidance to the probation officers attached to her Court, and it will undoubtedly be a great stimulus to them to work with a Magistrate who is well up in the principles and practice of the Juvenile Court.

Before her appointment as Juvenile Court Magistrate, there was already a bond between the Bombay Juvenile Court and our school of Social Work as practically all of the Probation Officers are graduates of the School and the Court has also been referring children to the Child Guidance Clinic. It is therefore with pleasure that we now contemplate the strengthening of that bond by the appointment of a member of the School and Clinic Staff as Magistrate,

And in spite of our sense of loss, we offer our congratulations to Dr. Cama on her appointment to such a responsible post, and wish her the best of success in her new field of activity.

LABOUR WELFARE UNDER STATE OWNERSHIP IN BHADRAVATI

IN the capitalistic regime it is almost taken for granted that industrialization inevitably brings in untold problems of congestion, slums, low standard of living etc. Cities have grown around industrial and commercial centres with neither plan nor control. The employer, wanting cheap labour, recruits them from all and sundry, not caring whither they live and where they eat. That is why all the world over, where profit motive is the basis of economic and social organization, we find the anomalous sight of castles for some and tenements for others. The real producers of wealth, who ought to be the legitimate heirs to the wealth they produce, are the disinherited masses of all capitalistic lands. Private ownership of the means of production has the motivation of profit and profit alone. The social consequences, the national loss through depreciation and degeneration of human wealth and values, are of little concern. In contrast to this, it is assumed that state ownership would give major consideration to the welfare of the people since its greatest asset is its people. The report of the social and welfare activities at the Bhadravati Iron & Steel Works in Mysore—a State-owned concern—shows that the State in planning and developing this industrial town has taken pains to see that the labourers get an even break. Instead of shanties and tenement houses, there are houses built for them by the State. The facilities for medical care, sanitation, education of children, recreation, co-operative enterprises are all provided.

A very interesting feature is that the Bhadravati Iron & Steel Works Co-operative Society Ltd., has the sole monopoly of the business in the New Town area and the Society has been able to supply provisions and clothes at reasonable rates. The people pay no municipal, professional, trade, cycle or entertainment taxes. The total expenditure incurred by the Works for all welfare measures amounted to Rs. 188,000/- during 1941-42. We congratulate the State for having sponsored such a plan of work and will watch with interest the growth of the New Town both in stature and in socialization.

Incidentally it may be pointed out in this connection that with the rapid industrialization of the State, labour welfare and legislation are receiving the special attention of the Mysore Government. The decade ending 1941 witnessed a very rapid increase in the number of industrial enterprises in the State. During this period alone, eight State-owned industrial concerns, 17 State-aided industrial concerns and 28 private industrial concerns were established.

With this quickening of the pace of industrialization the problems affecting labour naturally assumed great importance. Prior to 1941 there was no statutory machinery in Mysore for the settlement of industrial disputes. During that year an important piece of legislation, the Mysore Labour Emergency Act, was enacted which created a machinery for the peaceful and speedy settlement of industrial disputes and sought generally to promote the welfare of labour. The Emergency Act was permanently put on the statute book in January 1942. The Act confers the rights of association on labour. It avoids rival unions by prescribing a single association for each industrial establishment employing not less than 100 persons, and confers statutory recognition on each association immediately on registration. 57 undertakings have come within the scope of the Mysore Labour Act. Among these, Labour Associations have been registered in 47 industrial undertakings. Standing orders which regulate the relations between the employer and the employees in regard to leave and holidays, shift working, punishment for misconduct, etc., have been settled in 51 undertakings. The Labour Department which has been functioning for a little over a year now has been able to bring about agreements in 16 industrial disputes. Proceedings in Conciliation resulted in the settlement of eight cases. One case went before the Court of Arbitration by mutual consent of parties. It resulted in clarifying the position of surface employees under contractors in Mines, *vis-a-vis* the Mining Companies. Another case was referred by Government to the Arbitration Tribunal, under the rules for compulsory arbitration. It resulted in the restoration of certain dismissed employees and the validation of an agreement registered by the Registrar.

Government have also extended the scope of the Factories Act, so as to bring practically all industrial labour within its ambit. They have liberalised Workmen Compensation Law. The Code of Civil Procedure has been amended to ensure the exemption of wages from attachment.

The Mysore Government have sanctioned uniform work Service Rules for all Government industrial establishments, providing annual leave with pay, provident fund, and gratuity or bonus in respect of persons not entitled to provident fund. They have also sanctioned dearness allowance in all such establishments. Similar benefits have been extended in Government Aided establishments and several private undertakings. In addition to these benefits, working classes in Bangalore City have secured opportunities for amusing themselves in Recreation Centres. The Department of Labour runs these Centres which are open free of charge to all working classes including industrial labour. A wide range of amenities, such as newspapers, periodicals, books in different vernaculars, indoor games, etc., are available there. There are two such Centres at present in Bangalore City, but their popularity is so

great that Government contemplate starting some more in the not distant future to enable a larger number of workers to have healthy recreation and wholesome amusement during their leisure hours.

INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF DELINQUENT YOUTH

OF the various methods of child care, institutional treatment is considered to be the best for delinquent children and youthful offenders who require discipline and special training. One of the oldest of such correctional institutions in India is the David Sassoon Industrial and Reformatory Institution which was founded in 1843 as a ragged school and reorganized in 1857 when it was recognized as an establishment suitable for the reformation of youthful offenders. Until the passing of the Bombay Children Act, the majority of the admissions were under the Reformatory Act. Now that the majority of admissions are under the Children Act, the Institution is now known as the David Sassoon Industrial School. In 1929 the Government of Bombay entrusted its management to the Managing Committee of the Children's Aid Society as it had then planned to embark on a programme of expansion and to assume the responsibility of juvenile social welfare work in all its aspects. It was therefore thought that such centralized administration would lead not only to coordination but also to treatment on scientific lines according to the special needs of each child.

The transference of the management of the School to the Children's Aid Society with its definite ideals and sound aims was certainly a step in the right direction. The Annual Report of the School for 1940-41 shows how attempts are being made to transform an institution, which was originally practically a juvenile prison, into a useful institution for the rehabilitation of the young. While the changes made so far in the methods and curriculum of training are encouraging, the real things that matter are the nature of the environment, the method of approach and the details of treatment given.

The measure of the worth of an institution is to be found not in its buildings, grounds and equipment but in the degree to which it fulfills a real need in the correctional education programme and gives to the inmate such care and training as will most nearly compensate him for the loss of the spiritual, educational and emotional values of a good and normal home. Buildings and equipment are only important means to an end. It is generally recognized that the quality of work particularly in a correctional institution for juveniles and youthful offenders depends primarily upon the qualification of the staff members. The personalities and ideals of the members of the board, superintendent, matrons, teachers and other workers create the spirit of the institution, and upon that spirit the vital interests of the inmates depend.

The moral and spiritual training of children, the development of good habits, and the exertion of right influences on their daily lives are items of greatest importance. Therefore, a correctional institution demands a much superior staff than any other institution. Attractiveness and convenience of buildings are undeniably great assets in making possible a good type of service but the quality of an institution depends far less upon the size of the buildings and equipment and far more upon the personnel and the understanding care the inmate receives.

The David Sassoon Industrial School has been under the management of the Children's Aid Society only during the last three years. The School is situated in the midst of pleasant natural surroundings. Since the existing buildings cannot be readapted for the cottage plan, the apartment-group system could perhaps be introduced for the purpose of giving more individualized attention to the inmates. It is to be hoped that the Society would, in course of time, thoroughly reorganize the institution, engage properly qualified personnel and provide that type of correctional training which will turn out the inmates much better equipped to live normally in the community with the moral stamina necessary to withstand the unfavourable currents of every day economic and social life, and also keep a follow-up record to assess the value of the training given under the reorganized scheme.

SAFETY IN TIMES OF WAR AND PEACE

WORLD crises do not create new problems so much as they intensify existing ones. The prevention of accidents is not a new problem but the task is becoming more exacting as it grows more urgent and vital with the speeding up of industries in wartime. In earlier times the stupendous waste of accidents was overlooked. But now with the advancement of scientific knowledge, there is a growing recognition that the future depends upon the most effective and economic use of human and material resources. It is therefore the duty of every citizen to help in every way not only to stop this national waste but conserve life and property both in times of war and peace.

An agency which is devoting itself to this type of work is the Safety First Association of India and the Tenth Annual Report of its Council reveals that despite war conditions, it has made considerable progress in its accident prevention efforts in the home, on the road and at work. The activities of the Association include Civil Defence, Safety Education in Schools, Training in Citizenship, Industrial Efficiency, Poster Service, Road Safety, Town Planning, Home Safety, Film Service, Publications, etc. All these are very valuable but when we consider the size of our country, the ignorance of the masses and the immensity of our social problems, the activities of the Association

though excellent as far as they go, are quite inadequate.

No doubt, the Association hopes, as its name implies, to cover the entire country in course of time. However, at present it has branches only in Ahmedabad, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Madras and Surat. These are co-operating in some form or other in spreading the message of safety and efficiency. But unfortunately all these branch organizations with the exception of Bombay show a very small membership. It is rather disappointing to note that no thought has yet been given to conditions in rural areas and to spreading the message of safety and efficiency there. It is, no doubt, true that the incidence of accidents is comparatively low in rural areas but there are many problems which agriculturists face and which come within the purview of the Safety First Association. Branches therefore should be formed not only in industrial cities but also in rural areas.

The Association has to its credit a number of publications—handbooks and pamphlets—including its recent ones on air raid precautions. The official organ of the Association is *Safety News* which at present is giving considerable attention to the vital problems of civil defence. It is a valuable paper and we hope government would give adequate financial help to enable the Association to distribute free copies to schools and welfare agencies that cater to the poor. Unfortunately, practically all the publications of the Association are in English. In a country where English is spoken only by a small proportion of the population, would it not serve the best interests of Safety if the paper is published in all provincial languages and its important books and pamphlets translated into different languages? When the branches are so few and their membership so small, this may be one way of reaching a larger number of people and spreading far and wide the idea for which the Association stands,

A SOCIAL SECURITY SCHEME

SIR William Beveridge's plan for social security, drawn up at Government's request and published on 1st December, proposes a programme to guarantee "freedom from want" to every man, woman and child in Britain by a single scheme of State Social Insurance. He proposes this assurance as of right and not charity, but on condition of service and contribution. His plan would ensure a basic minimum income to everyone in need, irrespective of the cause of the need, with adequate benefits for unemployment, sickness, accident, widowhood or retirement through age. This "national minimum" income is designed to encourage not to stifle individual incentive to earn more than the minimum social security. And the benefit must be associated with measures to enable the people to regain normal earnings as soon as possible—training of the unemployed and treatment of the sick and

disabled in order to make and keep men and women fit for service to the community.

Sir W. Beveridge's recommendations include big increases in the weekly payments to unemployed and disabled people (56 shillings weekly for a man with wife and two children compared with the existing rates of 38 shillings for unemployment and only 11 shillings for disability), children's allowance of 8 shillings weekly up to the age of 15 or up to 16 if in full time education, free medical and hospital treatment of every kind for every citizen, retirement pensions reaching eventually 40 shillings weekly for husband and wife compared with the present old age pension of 20 shillings, funeral grant of £ 20 and a "wives' charter" including marriage grant, increased maternity benefit and widows' pensions.

The "means tests" would in general be abolished. The scheme covers all citizens without the upper income limit and, irrespective of their productive status, all are entitled to its benefits without investigation of their private means. Every gainfully employed citizen, employee and employer alike must pay weekly premium contributions by stamps on an employment book or occupation card. The general weekly contribution rate for a male employee will be 7s. 6d. (4s. 3d. for the employee and 3s. 3d. for the employer) compared with the present 3s. 8d. and for women six shillings (3s. 6d. from the employee and 2s. 6d. from the employer) compared with 3s. 1d. Children's allowances will be paid as a birthright.

Sir W. Beveridge describes the plan as partly a "British revolution" but mainly a natural development from the past. Britain, he says, is already making social security provision "on a scale not surpassed and hardly rivalled in any other country of the world". The present average expenditure of industrial households on purposes covered by the Beveridge Plan is 5s. 10d. compared with 4s. 3d. in the proposed scheme, but the scheme would give far more than 5s. 10d.—it would be worth roughly "a shilling for three pence". Sir William emphasises that his plan is primarily a method of redistributing income, that social insurance is only one part of a comprehensive policy of social progress and that the attack must be not on want but on disease, squalor and idleness. The abolition of want is a practical post-war aim, and planning for peace assists the war effort. He urges that a plan for social security must be prepared during the war. The cost of the scheme—which is in effect a programme for a new order of general social security—would be £697 millions in 1943 rising to £858 millions in 1965.

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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

Volume III

MARCH 1943

Number 4

OUR LEPROSY PROBLEM

P. C. SEN

There is an alarming indifference on the part of our people with regard to leprosy which has already become one of our major public health problems. In this article the author provides much information regarding this dread disease and makes a plea for immediate action to control and prevent its spread.

Dr. Sen is the Publicity Officer of the Bengal Branch of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association.

MOST of the diseases of man are preventable. Man has within him defensive power to resist infection and disease, and carelessness, indifference and ignorance are largely responsible for our sickness and suffering. Infectious diseases result from the interplay of two factors, namely, micro-organisms and parasites on the one hand, and the resisting power of the body on the other hand. We should, therefore, not merely make provisions to keep infection away but at the same time must make a sustained effort to develop adequate power of resistance by maintaining a high standard of general health. Vigilance is the price of health, and because man is loath to pay this price, disease prevails in this world.

Leprosy is one of the chronic infectious diseases which has existed in the world from ancient times largely because of man's ignorance and careless habits of living. Leprosy does not kill but maims and deforms by degrees and ultimately moulds the sufferer into a fearful form. The severer forms of the disease, however, are fortunately less common in India. In most cases leprosy is milder and causes more mental than physical suffering, so much so, that the patient feels like dying for fear of the great social stigma attached to the disease. But death rarely comes, and we find that the mortality rate in leprosy of a country is little higher than its general mortality rate. When, however, the disease is advanced, the physical efficiency of the patient suffers, and he becomes a burden to himself and others of the community. Even

his parents, friends and relatives shun him and he is often left alone to brave this unkind world.

Leprosy has been prevalent in our country for many thousands of years. There is a mention of the disease in *Rig-Veda* which was compiled about six thousand years ago. *Susruta Samhita* was compiled about 2,500 years ago and in this great book the Susruta has described the cause, mode of infection, forms of the disease, and its treatment very elaborately. Although modern ideas about the disease differ in some ways from those of our ancient physicians there is no doubt that they knew a great deal about leprosy.

Throughout these past centuries many thousands of people in our country have suffered from leprosy, have left or been turned out of their homes, have gone on pilgrimage to holy places like Vaidyanathdham, Puri, Benares and Badrinarayan in search of physical and spiritual relief. But the much-sought-of relief never came. Instead, their miseries multiplied beyond measure, and their own doors being closed against them they were compelled to gain a living by begging. In some temples and holy places religious-minded people sometimes provided them with food and shelter but a vast majority of them remained unprovided and uncared for and were compelled to eke out their existence in great misery and suffering.

A few centuries ago in mediaeval times leprosy was common in Europe. The leper, who was not permitted to come out of his home unless dressed in special clothes to indicate his diseased condition, had to ring bells to draw the attention of the passers-by, and it was even a custom to read burial service over him to declare his civic death. Thousands of leper houses were built in many countries of Europe to care for and keep them separate from the healthy population. It is possible that in a number of cases the adoption of these measures might have been harsh and unnecessarily stringent, but one should remember that in those days in Europe people had no scientific knowledge as science in modern sense was not yet born. As a result leprosy has become almost non-existent in Europe as a whole and has become confined to tropical and sub-tropical countries, and the heaviest incidence at the present time is seen in Africa, India, South China and parts of South America. It is now largely a tropical disease although formerly it was not so. A few scattered foci of leprosy, however, are still in Russia, Spain, Portugal and other countries in the Mediterranean area.

Leprosy is commonly held to be incurable and supposed to be inherited, and a dreadful fatalism has grown up in regard to it. Some well-meaning but misguided persons have looked upon leprosy as the just wages of sin. These pious, well-intentioned and sometimes influential personages failed to consider the innocent victims of the disease, such as the children infected by

their parents. But even if leprosy were the just reward of sin society can not allow the punishment to take its own course, for when one is infected and goes uncared for it may be that the community as a whole will suffer, and even those who escape the disease have to provide ultimately for the care of the infectious and the crippled among them. So we are paying to-day for our mistaken attitude of yesterday. With this distorted public attitude towards leprosy in our country it must be evident that more than medical care is needed to bring the disease under control. Before its victims could be cared for, they must be found out. Before they could be found out, our attitude toward the disease must be changed, prejudices broken down, and misconceptions dispelled. Patients themselves have to be made to believe that they can get well before they can be persuaded to leave the seclusion of their homes to allow themselves to be treated. It is not yet recognised by the people that leprosy treated early can be checked.

A campaign directed against an acute disease presents certain difficulties which can more or less easily be got under control as there are recognised methods of immunisation of the general public by inoculation and vaccination. There are no social problems involved. In contrast, health workers are faced with a much harder job in their effort to control a chronic communicable disease like leprosy as there has not been discovered yet any method of immunisation against the disease and, what is more important, leprosy has traditionally carried implications of stigma and disgrace, and as a consequence any discussion of leprosy in public is practically tabooed.

Throughout the past ages the person with leprosy has been the most despised in the world and been looked upon as the victim of greatest divine displeasure. Whenever a word of utmost horror and loathing is to be shouted at anybody the word 'Leper' is most spitefully and frequently used. Not only the innocent victim but his forefathers also are loaded with reproach. Partly owing to this traditional attitude of the community towards the person with leprosy and partly to the notion that once a person acquires leprosy remains always so, the problem of leprosy, though one of the major public health problems of India, has not so far attracted as much public notice as its importance demands. We are living in an age when the major problems in public health requiring the aid of science for their solution are well along the road and the time for indulging in vague superstitious beliefs and prejudices regarding the causation and spread of disease is long past. And as for leprosy, we have enough knowledge available to us to bring about its control provided the people of the country concerned give up their traditional beliefs and prejudices that have grown around the disease in the course of centuries and be prepared to work along organised lines of proved value. The history of decrease

of leprosy in Western Europe in the middle ages is well-known to the students of social history of the West. At the present time, in Norway they have been able to reduce their total number of lepers from 2,858 to as low a number as 90, or from 2 to 0.3 per mille only in the short space of about 70 years by adopting a widespread scientific but humane system of control even though leprosy had been prevalent in that country for over a thousand years. If these and other countries in the past and at present have been able to control the disease either partially or completely, is there any reason why we cannot do the same in our country by adopting adequate measures similar to those of other countries but modified to suit our temperament and economic conditions?

Leprosy workers, in the course of their duties, are confronted with many interesting questions by the people. Some of these questions touch the root of the problem and any attempt to successfully control the disease in our country depends largely on a satisfactory answer to these questions. Fortunately, scientific workers in leprosy have placed enough knowledge about the disease at our disposal to answer the questions in a way which will satisfy all but the sceptics. I propose to deal with these questions before I deal with the need for a new outlook and a definite policy in leprosy.

I. IS LEPROSY A HEREDITARY DISEASE? IF NOT, HOW DOES IT SPREAD?—

From ancient times the idea that leprosy is an infectious and hereditary disease was held practically in all countries. But these views were repeatedly challenged in the nineteenth century and several National and International Bodies, such as The Committee of the Royal College of Physicians of London, (1862), The Indian Leprosy Commission, (1890), The International Leprosy Conferences (Berlin, 1897, Bergen, 1909, Strasbourg, 1923, Cairo, 1938), League of Nations' Leprosy Commission, (Bangkok, 1930), Indian Leprosy Conference, (Calcutta, 1933) and Inter-Governmental Conference of Far Eastern Countries on Rural Hygiene, (1937), have reported on the matter.

The findings of these various bodies are unanimous that leprosy is not hereditary but infectious, that it spreads chiefly, if not entirely, by direct contact and that leprosy can be controlled only by isolation of infectious cases, particularly from children and young persons, the isolation measures, being augmented by treatment, propaganda and welfare activities of various kinds.

Similarly, a close scientific investigation in recent years in India have brought out the following facts about leprosy :—(1) *A child born of infectious leper parent and removed at birth practically never develops leprosy.* This proves conclusively that leprosy is not a hereditary disease. (2) Children so born but not separated from an infectious parent develop leprosy in about 40 to 60 per cent of cases, although it may be many years before the disease manifests itself.

(3) An adult similarly exposed to infection, for example, the wife of a leper husband and vice versa, develops the disease comparatively rarely—in about 5 to 10 per cent of cases only. This proves that the adults are either partially or completely immune. (4) The severity of the disease is influenced markedly by the age at which infection is acquired and the persons infected early in life are more likely to contract the disease in a more serious infectious form than those infected later in life. (5) The disease appears also to be influenced by closeness of contact. Children and young persons remaining in intimate contact with an infectious patient develop leprosy more easily than others.

These facts are fundamental and clearly indicate that the most vital factor in the control of leprosy is the prevention of contact between the infectious patients and normal persons.

II. IS LEPROSY A CURABLE DISEASE?—Although there is no rapidly effective treatment for leprosy, like that of quinine for malaria, or arsenic for syphilis, the cure of leprosy by modern scientific treatment is an increasingly important fact. The word 'cure' is used in the clinical sense, as in tuberculosis, and not in the pathological one of elimination of the last germ from the body but that the patient is free from active infection and able to resume normal life without being a menace to others. In order to have best results treatment should be instituted as early as possible.

Most of the International and National bodies mentioned above have also reported on the curability of leprosy and the importance of treatment. It is not necessary to quote from all of them but I quote the relevant portions from the findings of the League of Nations' Leprosy Commission, 1930, which are almost typical of the recommendations of other bodies. The findings are:—1. There is no reliable system of prophylaxis without treatment and it is generally accepted that the earlier the treatment is instituted in a case of leprosy the better are the results. 2. Leprosy resembles tuberculosis in being, in certain stages, a contagious but curable disease; curable at least in the sense that bacteriological examination becomes negative and other active signs disappear and remain absent permanently or for an undetermined period. 3. The prophylaxis of leprosy may be achieved by a system of medical, educative and legislative measures. It should provide for isolation and treatment of infectious cases and particularly for the treatment of early cases in clinics and dispensaries. With regard to the efficacy of treatment, I may quote the medical statistical figures from the Annual Reports of the Mission to Lepers. In going through the following figures one must keep in mind that the patients provided for by the Mission to Lepers are mostly in advanced stages of the disease, and consequently the results are not as satisfactory as they should have been if the patients were in the early stages of the disease.

(A) IN-PATIENTS

	1937	1938	1940
Inmates under treatment at end of year ...	7,432	7,893	7,696
Inmates who received treatment for 3 months and upwards ...	9,549	9,507	10,181
Much improved ...	2,520	2,921	2,861
Slightly improved ...	2,605	2,252	2,586
Cases arrested without deformity ...	768	748	1,092
Cases discharged without deformity ...	554	514	842
Cases arrested with deformity ...	381	420	596
Cases discharged with deformity ...	122	136	169

(B) OUT-PATIENTS

Number of out-patients treated ...	10,444	8,039	5,934
Cases improved ...	1,417	1,145	1,306
Cases arrested or become symptom-free ...	230	110	371

Besides the leprosy in-patient institutions there are about two thousand out-patient clinics in India treating several thousand patients. Under the peculiar conditions of an out-door clinic the results of treatment cannot be as satisfactory as in in-patient institutions. Even so, the results are not as bad as are imagined. The reports of the Premananda Leper Dispensaries, Calcutta, show the following results :

				Maniktola		Kalighat	
Patients				1939	1940	1939	1940
New admission ...	...	...	...	905	741	260	281
Number attending for treatment ...	...	...	...	1,605	1,688	604	613
Disease arrested ...	...	...	...	71	75	39	36
Much improved ...	...	...	...	301	344	115	162
Slightly improved ...	...	...	...	197	232	81	146
Stationary ...	...	...	...	60	261	58	124

Leprosy manifests itself in two forms, namely, infective and non-infective. The non-infective cases react to treatment far more favourably than the infective cases. Fortunately, the number of non-infective cases in our country exceeds the number of infective cases in the proportion of 4:1 and the establishment of an optimum number of out-patient clinics has an important place in any scheme of leprosy control. But it should be recognised that if such clinics are going to be mere treatment centres their utility is very much restricted and they can do little in controlling the spread of leprosy.

III.—HOW CAN THE SPREAD OF LEPROSY BE PREVENTED?—In answering the previous two questions the main facts about the nature of the disease and the results of treatment with its limitations have been discussed and the broad

principles of leprosy control have been stated. The various Leprosy Conferences and Commissions mentioned above have also considered this question and reported on the matter. But just two quotations are sufficient for our purpose. The Report of the Indian Leprosy Conference, 1933, says:—"We consider that leprosy is an infectious disease and that the most important means of controlling leprosy must be the prevention of contact between infectious cases and healthy people. In India, on account of the large number of infectious cases and small financial resources available compulsory isolation is impossible. The only possibility is voluntary isolation. This could be arranged only for a limited number of cases in institutions. The majority should be encouraged to adopt isolation in their own homes or villages. This it may be possible to secure in time by suitable propaganda among patients, their relatives and the general public. The creation of an informed public opinion on the subject is probably the most important requirement for the control of leprosy."

The above statement attempted to outline certain methods of development of anti-leprosy work suitable to the present economic and social conditions of our country and the Conference therefore recommended as follows:—

1. The formation of Provincial and District Leprosy Boards and the appointment of Provincial and District Leprosy Officers in the highly endemic areas of India.
2. The arrangement of much improved training of medical workers in leprosy.
3. The development of the work of special leprosy clinics along the lines adopted in good tuberculosis clinics, the work to include propaganda with a view to prevention among the patients, and the patients' relatives home visitation, examination of contacts etc.
4. The provision of facilities for the treatment of leprosy in general hospitals and dispensaries.
5. The development of increased accommodation in in-patient institutions for leprosy in some provinces, for example, Bengal.
6. The establishment of voluntary isolation colonies. These colonies may be of two types (i) small colonies in connection with villages or groups of villages and locally supported, and (ii) larger colonies catering for larger areas.
7. The use of institutions as far as possible for infective cases of leprosy and not for non-infective cases as is sometimes done.
8. The taking of special steps to detect and keep under observation and treatment cases of leprosy in children by systematic examination of school children in endemic areas and by other such methods.
9. The non-infective cases among school children and employees in offices should not be expelled or dismissed provided they remain under expert medical observation and treatment, and periodical certificates of non-infectivity are produced.
10. Establishment of farm colonies for discharged patients from in-patient institutions who are likely to relapse on return to the bad conditions of living in their homes and villages.

As regards the principles of leprosy control, the Report of the Fourth International Conference on Leprosy, (1938), suggests: (a) Early detection by (i) periodical examination of contacts of infective cases; (ii) periodical examination of children of school-going age; (iii) detection of cases in dispensaries and hospitals; (iv) notification of cases by medical men, school teachers, village headmen etc., and (v) leprosy surveys. (b) Isolation of infective cases in institutions, villages or homes; isolation to be as humane as possible and near to the patients' homes and to be voluntary or compulsory according to the conditions of the country. It is suggested that in countries where isolation is voluntary, health authorities might be empowered to compel the isolation of any case which is considered a special menace to public health. Home and village isolation are considered as very poor substitutes for institutional isolation. (c) Regular systematic observation of non-isolated cases with treatment of suitable case. And (d) the removal of children from birth.

This report emphasises the paramount importance of the prevention of infection of children, and of proper medical supervision of children already infected. The readers should be able to detect the similarity of the recommendations of this International Conference and those of the Indian Leprosy Conference and be able to appreciate the leading part taken by our leprosy workers who represented India in the Cairo Conference.

IV. IS THERE ANY LEPERS ACT IN INDIA ?—If so, what are its main provisions ? Is the Lepers Act adequate enough for control of leprosy in our country ? If not, how should it be altered to meet the present conditions ? We have a Lepers Act in India which was formulated in 1898 and subsequently amended in 1920. But its scope is limited and it has rarely been used. The question of legislation bearing on the leprosy problem has been discussed elaborately in the Report of the Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Health, Government of India, on Leprosy and its control in India. Extracts from this Report bearing on the questions are given below.

The question of legislative action to control leprosy in India was seriously considered by the Government of India and by the Provincial Governments between the years 1880 and 1900 when much correspondence on the matter was passed between the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India and the Provincial Governments and a special Leprosy Commission was appointed. But this was not a Government of India Commission. It was organised in 1890 by the National Leprosy Fund of Great Britain and consisted of nominees of that Fund and certain official nominees of the Government of India, and it was concerned mainly with technical problems about the transmission of leprosy, etc., which were then much under discussion,

This consideration of the problem led to the passing of the Lepers Act of 1898. This Act deals with only a few aspects of the leprosy problem, namely, the beggar with leprosy, persons who have leprosy preparing for sale or selling food, drink, drugs or clothing, taking of drinking water from public sources, bathing or washing clothes in public wells or tanks, and their use of public vehicles or following certain occupations. The other legislative measure of the Central Government affecting leprosy is the Railway Act which prohibits a leper from travelling by train except under certain precautions.

Provincial legislation with regard to leprosy is contained in the Local Self-Government Act. In practice legislation is confined mainly to urban areas. It can be said that the provisions of the Acts, whether Central or Provincial, are rarely enforced. The powers vary in different provinces and include one or more of the following provisions :—(1) The notification of the cases of leprosy; (2) the removal to hospital of the patient when he is living under conditions likely to favour the spread of infection or when he is uncared for; (3) the disinfection of infected articles and buildings; (4) the prevention of the letting of infected buildings without disinfection; (5) prohibition of the use of public conveyances by patients except when provision is made for their disinfection; (6) prohibition of the doing of certain acts and the following of certain occupations by patients, and (7) power of entry into, inspection of, and the carrying out of the necessary measures in houses suspected to harbour patients suffering from notifiable diseases.

In certain provinces the Municipal Acts contain other provisions also, such as the power to prohibit patients from attending school, prevention of minors suffering from infective diseases from attending school, power to destroy huts and other materials harbouring infection and restriction on the use of public libraries by patients. In Bengal, for instance, the areas in which leprosy is a notifiable disease are the municipalities, and the Acts and sections dealing with the control of notifiable infectious diseases are (i) Bengal Municipal Act, 1932, sections 376 to 392, and (ii) Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923, sections 435 to 447.

One may now ask if the present legislation in India is satisfactory and to what extent it is enforced. In answer to this question it may be pointed out that the Lepers Act, 1898, subsequently amended in 1920, is a measure which appears to be based mainly on considerations of public sentiment and is limited in scope from the standpoint of disease control and does not touch the root of the problem, namely, close continued contact between infective cases and children and young people. Moreover, the application of the measure was confined merely to a few towns but leprosy is largely a disease of the rural areas.

With regard to the powers of the local authorities under local Self-Government Acts, it may be observed that of all these Acts it is only in Bengal and Madras that legal powers for dealing with leprosy are considered adequate. But these powers have rarely, if ever, been used even in these provinces where leprosy is much more common than in the other provinces of India and where public health consciousness is said to be more in evidence. The reasons for this lag are obvious. Firstly, the local authorities are either ignorant of these provisions of law or they do not realise that these provisions can be applied to leprosy. Secondly, the application of these provisions involves the establishment and maintenance of an institution for isolation of infective cases who would remain infective throughout life or for a very long time. Most of the municipalities have no such provision. Thirdly, the powers provided by the Acts are permissive and not mandatory. There are no similar legal provisions for dealing with leprosy in rural areas of India except in Madras.

It must now be clear that there is a need for a comprehensive Lepers Act. As the existing legal provisions are inadequate it is necessary to formulate a comprehensive Lepers Act in order to minimise the public danger of infection. We do not want any such Act to be merely a decorative one but one that will be scientific, reasonable, and truly adequate and practical. Such an Act should be based, as recommended by the Leprosy Committee of the Central Board of Health, on the following principles:—(1) The disease should be notifiable but notification should be confidential, and confined to cases who are infective. The present legislation for the notification is to a large extent a dead letter. (2) Legislation should provide power to isolate infective cases which are a danger to the community. For paupers who are suffering from leprosy, however, legal power should apply to all cases. (3) A patient compulsorily isolated outside his own home should be maintained at public expense. (4) When a pauper suffering from leprosy is removed to an asylum under legal powers, the complete cost of his maintenance in the asylum should be met by the administrative authority applying the Act. (5) Legislation should include powers for the Health Officers to examine cases who are suspected to be in an infective condition. (6) Legal powers regarding the occupation of patients with leprosy detailed in the present Lepers Act shall be retained but for infective cases only. (7) The powers of arrest and removal of a person who appears to be a pauper suffering from leprosy should be entrusted to the Health authorities and the services of the Police called only when difficulty arises. (8) Legal power should be provided whereby a person who, after being committed to an asylum absconds, can be committed to a Leper Jail by the order of a Magistrate.

V. WHAT IS THE EXTENT OF THE LEPROSY PROBLEM IN INDIA?—It is

roughly estimated that there are about ten lacs of lepers in India, but fortunately, all of these cases are not infective; only about a quarter of them, namely, about two and a half lacs are infective and need isolation. But in the whole of India there is provision for isolation of only about 14,000 lepers. That means we have to multiply this provision by at least twenty times. The extent of leprosy differs in different provinces. In Bengal, for instance, leprosy is one of the common causes of sickness and suffering in the villages and it is a growing menace in cities, towns and in the industrial areas. It is roughly estimated that there are about two and a half lacs of leprosy patients in Bengal. Out of these, roughly 50,000 are infective and these are a source of public danger and the remaining two lacs are non-infective and of little or no public danger. Although leprosy is found in all sections of the people, it is commonly associated with poverty, overcrowding, under-feeding and insanitary conditions. These conditions, however, are not essential for transmission.

VI. WHAT TREATMENT FACILITIES ARE THERE IN INDIA ?—It is natural that one should want to know what facilities we have for treating leprosy patients and if they are adequate to meet our requirements. There are about ninety-five leprosy institutions in India working under various agencies and having an accommodation for not more than 14,000 patients. Of these various bodies, the Mission to Lepers is the largest and best single body working for the last 68 years and providing for no less than 10,000 patients or 71.4 per cent of the total number of patients residing in all the in-patient leprosy institutions in India. In addition to these in-patient institutions, there are about two-thousand out-patient clinics. But these facilities are hardly enough to meet our needs. To illustrate, there are in Bengal about 140 clinics which can provide out-door treatment for fifteen thousand patients only. These are managed by local bodies, like district boards and municipalities, Asansol Mines Board of Health, some industrial concerns and private bodies. There are four leper asylums under the management of the Mission to Lepers and one leper hospital at Gobra, 24 Paraganas, under the management of a Board of Trustees. These asylums have at present provisions for 550 in-patients only and the leper hospital for only 175.

But Bengal's need is much greater. So far as the provision for in-patients is concerned we have to make adequate arrangements for most of the 50,000 infective patients and some of the crippled and deformed among the non-infective cases. That means we have to multiply our present provisions at least by 70. Regarding the out-patient clinics we will require many times more to provide for the treatable cases. The institutional system, whether hospitals or asylums, is extremely costly. The Mission to Lepers spends about eight lacs of rupees annually for providing for about 8,000

patients. Though it is expensive to care for lepers it is, nevertheless, the duty of the State and the public to provide for these unfortunate ones and strive to prevent the spread of this dread disease.

Some of us have a notion that the cause of the extremely low number of in-patients in the leprosy institutions is due to lack of a demand on the part of the leprosy patients. But the reports of these institutions tell a different story. The Medical Notes on the work of the Mission to Lepers during 1937 reads: "Years ago the problem of selection of patients for admission did not arise at all acutely for there was accommodation in most of the homes for most, if not all, of the patients applying. In spite of the increase in the size and numbers of the leper homes practically all are full and refusing admission to many patients." Similarly, the Annual Report of the Albert Victor Hospital, Gobra, 24 Paraganas, for 1940, observes: "The hospital had always been constantly congested during the period. The institution needs further increased accommodation. The total number of beds in the hospital at present is 175 and at the utmost its capacity could be extended to 200 beds only by providing all possible extra beds in the various wards. The large number of lepers found roaming about in the streets of the city constitute a source of great danger to public health but it is not possible for the hospital to provide admission even for the most needy among them. Owing to the very limited accommodation in the hospital, admission had ordinarily been refused to about 14.5 patients on an average every month excluding those on the waiting list of the institution."

VII. NEED FOR A NEW OUTLOOK.—The public should recognise that leprosy has a history and a background, and intimate connections with our social habits, traditional beliefs and customs. We should also recognise that the person with leprosy suffers from a very depressing psychological effect. Society shuns him and he feels a sense of shame and humiliation and he becomes a crushed personality. Owing to this reason such persons with leprosy react to the attitude of society in two ways. Some of these patients who have some social status conceal the disease as long as they can and thus retard treatment, prolong their own sufferings and expose the community to danger, though secretly. There are others who become so callous to their own condition that they freely expose their wounds and deformed limbs in crowded parts of cities and towns to attract the notice of the passers-by and trade upon their charitable feelings. The first need, therefore, is that we should be prepared to shun the misconceptions and the superstitious beliefs about the disease and treat the persons suffering from leprosy with some consideration and sympathy. Secondly, we must recognise that the disease is widespread in the general population and try to create and educate public opinion to demand

setting up of sound preventive measures and see that they are carried out.

Similarly, there is a need for a new outlook on the part of the medical profession. It is obvious that no real progress in antileprosy work can be made without the whole-hearted co-operation of the medical profession and for this every doctor should know how to diagnose and treat leprosy. But unfortunately many doctors have not the necessary knowledge to do so owing to lack of provision for instruction on leprosy in the past, and even now the instruction on the subject is not satisfactory. Many of them consider the diagnosis and treatment of leprosy as the job of a specialist. Many of them have an unreasonable fear of leprosy, and will not handle and examine patients. Fortunately, in recent years this state of things has begun to change but the average doctor does not yet realise that there is no reason for thinking that diagnosis and treatment of leprosy are not part of his job. The sooner he realises this the better will he serve humanity. Moreover, the average medical practitioner can greatly help in educating and creating a forceful public opinion for making the Government plan antileprosy work as an essential and integral part of the public health and medical work of the country.

So also our medical institutions should cleanse their attitude towards leprosy. Patients of leprosy are often refused treatment either for leprosy or other diseases in the general hospitals or dispensaries. They are refused admission even to an infectious ward of the hospital, when in urgent need of medical or surgical treatment for diseases other than leprosy. The nature of the disease does not justify this attitude and there is no adequate reason why non-infective cases should not be admitted to general wards and infective cases to infectious wards if needing hospitalisation. If this policy were generally adopted in Government hospitals it would contribute greatly towards a sounder outlook on the part of the medical profession in general as well as on the part of the public towards the patients with leprosy. This welcome change alone will have a far greater educative value than a spate of words the publicity officers and other leprosy workers may use in pleading the cause of leprosy.

There is a need for a new outlook on the part of public health authorities also. It is rather an unpleasant fact that while in other countries the public health authorities, by implementing the recommendations of various national and international bodies and by adopting effective antileprosy measures as an integral part of their public health system, have been able to control the disease the task of leprosy control in India has hardly been considered or attempted. The antileprosy work that is being done in this country even at the present time is of the nature of relief work. The public health authorities in our country do not apparently find enough justification for engaging their serious attention on a disease like leprosy which has little or no influence on

the general death rate of the country. Death rate is our health index. But sickness rate is in many respects as important, if not more, as the death rate especially in a country like that of ours because poor health means lowered vitality, less energy, more social and economic cost, less productive efficiency, less enjoyment of existence and more misery. In leprosy all these effects of poor health are greatly multiplied because of the accompanying mental suffering. If sickness rate in a country is taken as an index of social progress it cannot be denied that we in India are extremely backward in social progress and there is absolutely no justification for our public health authorities to remain complacent about leprosy with such poor record of work to their credit. The fourth International Leprosy Conference, 1938, recommends as follows:—
 “That the Conference wishes to emphasise strongly its opinion that the control of leprosy is essentially the responsibility of the governments of the countries where the disease is common and that antileprosy work should form an integral part of the public health programmes of such countries. The public health authorities of our country should implement this recommendation without any further loss of time.”

VIII. NEED FOR A DEFINITE POLICY.—In India the public health work is a provincial responsibility and even when the provincial and local self-governing bodies have assumed some responsibility in antileprosy work they have often done so in a half-hearted way. They have appointed a very small, poorly paid and sometimes poorly qualified staff. In some other countries, for example, the Philippine Islands and Japan, the conditions of work have been such as to attract some of the best qualified and ablest men in the country. In these countries the leprosy workers are Government servants—well-qualified, well-trained, specially chosen for the work and given excellent status, pay and prospects. These men have been permanently engaged in developing antileprosy work on the basis of the isolation of infective cases—such work requiring for its maintenance a considerable part of the medical and public health budgets. The conditions of antileprosy work in our country, on the other hand, are most disappointing. At present there is no fixed policy, and the staff is inadequate, poorly paid and with little or no prospects, and no real standing in the province. In spite of this fact some good men have undertaken work under provincial or local authorities, but their lack of status and authority and the lack of a definite policy and financial backing for that policy has been the greatest handicap to the development of work.

There is a great need for a band of medical men with good general education, good medical qualifications, and a wide experience of leprosy work in India. Given reasonable status, pay and prospects such men will not be found wanting in our country. An effective policy for antileprosy work along

the lines of preventive medicine should be laid down with adequate financial provision for the carrying out of such a policy. What the main ideas of such a policy should be are given in the Report of the Leprosy Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Health and they are as follows :—(1) To make a critical and thorough study of the leprosy problem as a whole in the general population of the province. (2) To make a critical examination of the present, scrapping what is bad, improving what is indifferent and continuing and extending what is good. (3) With the help and advice of a Central Organisation to assist Provincial Governments in laying down a sound policy for the development of existing work and in the framing of new measures, medical, public health and legal, to deal with the situation, such measures to be based on the sound general principles of hygiene and preventive medicine and not on popular notions and superstitions. (4) The establishment of a Provincial Leprosy Sanatorium to act as the hub of antileprosy work of the Province.

It is clear that the cause of widespread leprosy in our country is not so much due to the lack of actual knowledge of the means of control of the disease as to the ignorance of our people of these means and how to apply them and the unwillingness on the part of our authorities to set up an adequate machinery to control the disease. In 1941, the Central Advisory Board of Health, Government of India, appointed a Committee to report on the problem of leprosy and its control in India. So far as leprosy is concerned this step was the first of its kind in India. This Committee considered the problem from various aspects in relation to the past, present and future of leprosy and antileprosy work in India and made an elaborate report which has since been published by the Central Advisory Board of Health and will be available from its office at New Delhi. I have quoted liberally from this Report and I recommend its perusal to any one interested in social work, particularly leprosy work, and I am sure that it will provide interesting and profitable reading. Now that the necessary up-to-date knowledge about the disease and the best practical ways of bringing the disease under control have been provided to us by this valuable report we should lose no time in making a serious effort to formulate a definite policy and take all practicable steps as soon as possible for the implementation of the recommendations contained in this report. I hope all the money necessary for a cause like this will not be found wanting. Will our Public Health Authorities, social and health workers, and the honourable members of the legislatures, Provincial as well as Central, take up this worthy cause ?

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON SOCIAL INSURANCE *

J. H. THOMAS

Rightly does the Beveridge Report urge that a plan for social security must be prepared during the war to abolish want in post-war Britain. Social Insurance is a matter of deep concern to all those interested in the welfare of the working population since it is one of the most important factors in decreasing human misery and increasing human happiness. In this article the author makes some pertinent observations with regard to the introduction of social insurance in India and hopes that it will soon be brought within the ambit of practical politics to promote the well-being of our workers.

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IT is perhaps not too much to claim that one of the surest manifestations of the progress of a nation towards a correct appreciation of the interdependence of the various elements of the population that compose it is a gradually mounting demand for the alleviation of the disabilities of the humbler classes of the community. Where these classes are articulate they will themselves provide the first impetus for their own betterment, but the more enlightened the community to which they belong the more readily will the better-placed members thereof recognise not only the justice of the plea but they will also appreciate that contentment and security for the workers ultimately lead to better work, to more rapid economic progress and to a successful future for the community as a whole.

In this article one need not contrast the advantages and disadvantages, from the workers' standpoint, of an all-round increase in wages as against some provision for the time when, for some reason or another, the payment of wages ceases. We start our consideration at the point where it is already decided that in certain circumstances when wages are no longer payable the worker must have available for him a scheme of assistance under conditions which make it his as of right and not as a charitable gesture by others.

There is a variety of circumstances in which the source of a wage-earner's income ceases. It will be clear that in some cases the cessation is the result of the voluntary act of the wage-earner and therefore calls for no recompense, but there are other cases where assistance is clearly called for.

The most obvious case is sickness—a condition which demands extra

* This article was written before the announcement of the publication of the Beveridge Report on the Social Services in the United Kingdom. Although the press and radio have made frequent references to it no copy of the actual official report has yet come into the author's possession. In these circumstances it has not been possible to incorporate a specific reference to the Report.—J. H. T.

expenditure just at a time when the earnings are reduced, if not altogether stopped; and the situation is rendered still more acute if the sick workers should happen to have dependants. Hardly less serious is the plight of the man thrown out of work. Again, we have the case of injury to the breadwinner by accident while at work or of his death, whether from accidental or natural causes, as a result of which the financial circumstances of his dependants are adversely affected on account of the extra expenses to which they are put and of the loss of his income. The foregoing catalogue includes perhaps the majority of the ills of the type with which we are concerned and to which the more poorly-paid ranks of our workers are heir, and by the concerted attempts social reformers should seek to mitigate the adverse effects of these ills by means of the insurance principle which has come to be known under the general term of Social Insurance.

Social Insurance, however, is not limited to the provision of protection against only the ills of life. There are other occasions not necessarily ill, even positively beneficial to the community, which nevertheless bring expense or disability in their train. The most obvious of these perhaps is the procreation of children, a service to the State without which the State cannot continue but which nevertheless involves expense to the parents. Hardly less obvious is the provision of a pension during old age to workers who are no longer fit to earn a living by means of their own labour. In this connection reference may be made to the schemes which have been put forward at times of chronic unemployment for encouraging workers to retire on reaching certain specified ages in order to make room for younger and more active men. These schemes are based on the inducement provided by what are conveniently called "Retirement Pensions".

The most highly developed State would, no doubt, have in operation schemes of insurance to provide the necessary benefits in the event of all these contingencies. It is now necessary, however, for us to limit the scope of our enquiry in order to keep it within the bounds of practicability. We have primarily to consider what is possible in India under the present conditions or those of the near future. Even without assuming the mantle of a political prophet he would indeed be a bold man who would venture to foretell the conditions that are going to prevail in industry after the present war. If, however, the war of 1914-18 may be taken as a criterion, one inevitable deduction or conclusion is that the industrial workers—using the term in its widest sense to include the black-coated as well—will press for a betterment of their conditions which must include some form of insurance provision.

For a considerable time it has been no secret that discussions have been taking place in responsible quarters in connection with this subject. There

are those who think that a start should be made in more settled times but then the reforms should proceed on a wide basis; there are others who believe that it should be made at the earliest possible moment in a modest way and they recognise that because the field for insurance is too vast to be completely covered at the outset that in itself is not a sufficient reason for refraining from making a start within the limits of the possibilities of the moment. Their views may be summed up in the quotation: "Shall the field be mown before nightfall, if the scythe be sharpened all day?"

History shows clearly that the achievement of social reforms is always a gradual process; therefore we have to anticipate that the achievement of a widespread system of social insurance in India with the different services properly dovetailed will also be gradual beginning with the more urgent services. Financial considerations alone lead to this conclusion. There may be room for a little difference of opinion as to which service should be used as a basis for the whole structure, but on the whole it will probably be felt that the evil which weighs most heavily on individuals and which at the same time is most widespread in its incidence is sickness, and so the rest of this article will be devoted to the discussion, in a general way, of some of the various aspects and problems present themselves both at the inception of a scheme of Sickness Insurance and during its subsequent working and development. The writer has had some contact with the schemes of social insurance operating in England and will find it convenient and helpful from time to time to refer to various aspects of those schemes.

In the first place, it is to be remembered that social insurance schemes are not run for financial gain and if, as a result of efficient organisation, good management or administrative efficiency, profits do accrue, they should not be dissipated promiscuously. This is a matter which will be dealt with later, but it is mentioned now as it has a certain relevance to the principle that the financial foundation of any edifice of true social insurance must show actuarial equilibrium between contributions and benefits. Even if one of the parties responsible for the provision of the necessary money is a public authority, in these days of increasing administrative efficiency and control it would not be desirable, even if it were permitted, for any such authority to undertake unknown liabilities and to allow itself to be regarded as a fairy godmother able to provide whatever is necessary to keep the scheme afloat. Similarly, the employers of labour have a right to know as nearly as possible the extent of their share in the financial burden and to satisfy themselves that the benefits offered are commensurate with the sacrifices which the contributories are called upon to make. In the case of employers too, the question of the charges that are going to fall upon them enters directly into the computation of the

prices at which they can sell their products. In the case of a rate- or tax-levying authority the obviously parallel considerations apply. It is quite evident then that financial purity, no less than business planning, demands that as nearly as actuarial estimates allow the scheme must be in monetary equilibrium and this means that the contribution of every party must be fixed beforehand.

• • In normal circumstances the contributories are the employee, the employer and perhaps a public authority. It may be asked, why make the employee contribute since it is he alone who gets the benefit? There are several answers to this question. In the first place, the benefit that has to be purchased, even though at a rate to the recipient well below its intrinsic value, is more highly appreciated than the one which costs nothing. Moreover, the fact that the benefit has to be paid for in part by the employees tends, theoretically at least, against the perpetration of frauds against the funds, for each one can be a vigilant watchdog on guard against misapplication of his own contributions. Thirdly, and perhaps this is the most important reason, if the employee was not made a contributory, the benefits would have to be reduced correspondingly, and so those who fail to receive benefits would find themselves short in the proportion that the employees' contribution would have borne to the total contribution of all contributories. If, for the sake of argument, each contributory bore one-third of the cost, then so far as the employee is concerned the elimination of himself and his colleagues from the ranks of the contributories would have the effect of reducing the insurance scope of the scheme by one-third. This would not matter to the man who never claimed, but the claimant would be at a serious disadvantage. In effect there would be no insurance in the true sense at all from the point of view of an employee, but merely "charitable" donations enforceable by law from employers and the tax- or rate-payer generally.

The argument for putting a part of the burden on the employer is presumably his moral duty towards the employee whose work provides him with his profits and, moreover, that he can legitimately pass on the charge to the consumers of his goods. Where a public authority also contributes, it is not difficult to claim that the public as a whole has an interest in the well-being and contentment of the community. In this connection reference may be made to the first paragraph of this article.

The next point to consider is the extent of the system of benefits to be offered. It will be appreciated that a very considerable proportion of the cases of sickness occurring in an industrial population are of an extremely short duration—a matter of 2 or 3 days only. If every one of these cases has to be the subject of a claim for benefit the amount of administrative routine be-

comes a very serious burden, the cost of which is out of all proportion to the amount payable and affects adversely the balances in the benefit funds. It is very advisable therefore to count the period of sickness which ranks for payment of benefit from not earlier than, say, the 4th day of the attack.

At the other end of the scale there are long periods of sickness which in the extreme may amount to permanent disability. In such cases the sickness benefit, if it were payable, becomes in effect a permanent pension. Where other alternative provision is made for old age, it is advisable to stipulate that payment of sickness benefits shall cease at the age when true old age pensions commence. If there is no system of true old-age pensions then it will probably be necessary to continue the benefit at a reduced rate until death, but it must be realised that this throws a very heavy financial burden on the funds.

Another point that should be mentioned in this connection is that prolonged sickness, even though it does not amount to permanent disability, also exerts a very heavy drain on the funds. Provided the contributions were big enough this drain could be borne but in practice it would probably be found that the necessary contributions would be too much of a strain, and the custom is to pay the full rate of benefit for a limited period, perhaps 13 or 26 weeks, and then to reduce it to half rate or some other lower amount. The question of a further reduction after a further period or total cessation can only be decided in the light of the practicability of enforcing the necessary contribution.

Yet another point that is convenient to mention now is the linking of attacks of sickness which are separated by certain intervals during which the insured person returns to work. Where a system of reduction of benefit after a stipulated time is in operation, it is not difficult to foresee that in many cases an employee could betake himself from his sick-bed for one day and so qualify for a fresh period of full pay benefit, unless there was some rule requiring him to treat as linked-up those attacks of sickness which are not separated by more than the stated intervals. In practice, an interval of 12 months between separated attacks is commonly required to entitle a contributor to reversion to the full rate of benefit.

Reference has been made above to the burden thrown on the administration if claims of very short duration are admitted. Another difficulty, no less serious in its effect on administration, would arise if employees were constantly entering and leaving employment. Track would have to be kept not only of their liability for contribution and that of their employers in respect of them also but many awkward problems would arise as to whether they were eligible for benefit and, if so, at what reduced rate, depending on the arrears in their contributions. It is evident then that provision for workers

in seasonal occupations present grave difficulties and therefore it would be advisable to exclude them from the insurance scheme, and if possible to set up a special system for them in which it would probably be found necessary to sacrifice some of the greatest advantages of a scheme based on genuine insurance principles.

It has been argued that a worker who normally enjoys high wages has greater commitments than one drawing a low wage, and so his sickness benefit should reflect this disparity. As long as wages vary between worker and worker this argument has some force, but there are the very greatest difficulties in admitting the principle into the scheme, for it obviously implies differential rates of contributions as well as benefits. Just as the inclusion of seasonal workers strains the administrative machine, similar would be the effect of requiring contributions and benefits to vary with wages. Moreover, it would be necessary to introduce into the mathematical basis underlying the system certain assumptions as to probabilities of earning increased pay and the extent of such increases. Since the assessment of the contribution must take into account the whole of the working life of the worker—a span of perhaps 40 years or more—it will be realised that to assess a contribution which is to allow for increases of wages over 40 years ahead entails assumption of the most intricate kind involving wages trends and other highly speculative incursions into the future. Moreover, once the principle is admitted of differential contributions according to wages, the promoters of a scheme may expect to be asked for differential rates for industries. Apart from feasibility, however, there is another way of looking at the matter. It may be contended that it was never the intention to provide proportional compensation for misfortune but only to secure a certain level minimum to everybody, sufficient to keep them up to pre-decided level of subsistence.

For a country like India in particular, where birth records are far from complete, any scheme in contemplation must be based on a flat rate of contribution regardless of age. In fact this course is followed even in countries where records are more reliable, on account of the much greater simplicity in operation. But it is clear that the same benefits cannot be given to a man of 20 as to a man of 40 years of age for the same contribution; yet at the inception of the scheme and also in any circumstances when a worker takes up insurable employment at an age above the normal entry-age into regular employment, there will be many cases when a worker becomes insurable at an age above the normal entry-age for which alone the actuarially calculated contribution is adequate. Some device is therefore necessary to prevent the scheme from being saddled at its inception or subsequently with a heavy load of liability in respect of the late-age entrants, for financial equilibrium must be considered the

keystone which supports the whole structure of any scheme introduced in these days of accountants, actuaries and finance departments.

This problem arose in acute form in the National Health Insurance scheme introduced in the United Kingdom. Its importance then derived from the fact that the whole system was grafted on to the existing Friendly Society and Collecting Society systems. Each of the Friendly Societies had to be solvent on its own showing and no two societies had the same proportion of late entrants. Consequently, there had to be something in the nature of a central pool from which credits could be granted to each society according to its needs if it were to be solvent. At the start these credits were only paper assets, but to convert them into cash—20 years was the original term contemplated for this operation—a very small fraction of each weekly contribution in respect of each employee was diverted to a central sinking fund. Unfortunately circumstances did not permit the redemption scheme for "reserve values", as the paper credits were called, to work itself out undisturbed. Changes in the rates of benefits and contributions and in the upper remuneration limits of eligibility for insurance combined to upset the redemption time-table but enough has been said to show the nature of the problem and that even when justice has to be done not merely in one over-all scheme but individually to each of the 7000 separate units (including the Friendly Societies with their branches) which go to make up the whole scheme in the United Kingdom, the problem is far from insoluble.

It would therefore appear that when the time comes to initiate a scheme in India on sound lines, some such device as that of the Reserve Value system will be found to be essential.

It has been supposed that financial equilibrium between receipts and payments of the insurance fund is to be the fundamental basis of the scheme. To achieve this, however, certain assumptions as to rates of sickness, mortality and the like have to be made, but the whole process is barren unless periodical investigations are made to ascertain whether the assumptions are being borne out in practice. Two things may be happening—either the actual experience is more favourable to the fund than the assumptions, or the reverse.

In the former event the fund would show an actuarial surplus, but it would not be safe to dispose of this surplus until the sources from which it has sprung have been ascertained. Ordinary common prudence will then dictate which of the sources should be regarded as wind-falls and the product thereof conserved as reserve and which are of recurrent nature. The latter might, in part at least, be considered as available for disposal. Disposal might take the form of increased benefits or the institution of new benefits, e.g., dental treatment.

On the other hand, if there is found to be an actuarial deficiency, equilibrium must be restored, by subsidy, by increase of contributions, or by reduction of benefit. As between the two last-mentioned methods of restoration, reduction of benefit is the less undesirable as it affects fewer people.

A fund in deficiency, however, gives rise to a very difficult point. One category of insured persons employed in one particular industry may claim that they are experiencing a lighter sickness rate than the rest and therefore it is unfair to make them subject to disabilities in order to restore solvency. Investigation may justify their claim and the authorities may then be confronted with a demand for sub-division of the fund according to industry. It has already been suggested above that this demand might follow if rates of contributions and benefits were related to rates of wages, but it is clear that it may arise independently and the authorities will then have to make a difficult decision.

It is in this connection that the Friendly Society system in the United Kingdom was found so useful. Not only did it mean that a very large section of the public was already acquainted with insurance matters but it gave an opportunity to workers voluntarily to band themselves together according to any attribute they liked, e. g., by political creed, by religious belief, by occupation or anything else. In this way the charge of subsidisation of the heavy claimants by the light was largely provided against.

Reference has been made above to Friendly Societies and at this juncture the part played by these bodies should be explained. For many decades the working classes of the United Kingdom have voluntarily formed themselves into societies for their mutual advantage and aid in times of distress. Sons followed their fathers into membership as a matter of course and a kind of mutual rivalry between societies in regard to usefulness and prosperity was fostered and flourished. Of recent years the vigour of the growth has been somewhat retarded but still at the time of the introduction of National Health Insurance in the United Kingdom the system was the obvious vehicle for the local administration of the new legislation. Subsequent investigations, including one by a Royal Commission, have testified to the excellent work done by these societies and to the invaluable part they played in the establishment of the system on a basis which has successfully surmounted difficulties which might have been expected to lead to chaotic results.

When we look round to see whether India has any such institutions on which to graft a scheme we are forced to have to admit that there is nothing of an equivalent nature. This is a most serious drawback and it would seem that the necessary organisation would have to be worked by the local authori-

ties unless it could be entrusted to the Trades Unions where such exist. This question of local administration, it is feared, will be one of great difficulty for it cannot be too strongly stressed that the value of a sound financial basis will be completely lost if the administration particularly at the circumference is incompetent.

Another indispensable factor for a successful scheme is a competent medical service linked with an efficient system for the supply of medicines and drugs, for it is assumed that no system would be complete if it merely provided the employee with a periodical payment during sickness and left him without any obligation to have himself competently doctored so that he should cease to be a liability to the fund as soon as possible. The responsibilities of the doctors cannot be too strongly stressed. They will naturally wish to deal with their patients on the most humanitarian lines, but they will be often in doubt as to whether they are dealing with malingerers. Their position will not be an enviable one but they must appreciate that the financial basis of the system will be defeated if they allow themselves to be deceived by malingerers. It is a fact well-known to actuaries that rates of sickness derived from the experience of a body of persons who are not eligible for insurance benefits are lighter than rates for an exactly similar body who are eligible, or to put it another way, that the rates experienced by a given body when its members are not eligible for any sickness benefits are markedly and adversely affected if such benefits are suddenly extended to them.

It would be interesting now to indulge in a flight of prophecy. Let it be supposed that a simple scheme of sickness insurance for workers in certain industries has been established and has been successfully worked for some considerable period. It will have become part of the everyday life of the workers concerned. What will they think of it and what will be their criticisms and those of the public who take the trouble to study the system and its effects?

A favourable comment may be expected to be that the provision of benefits and medical attention during sickness has had a favourable effect in reducing the volume of physical destitution in the industries covered by the scheme. Further, the seeds will have been sown of the advantage to be derived from a pooling of resources for the purpose of combating those of the evils and misfortunes of mankind which are amenable to such treatment. Moreover, many people who are temperamentally unable to save find saving forced upon them in such a way that they hardly notice. The start may be in a limited way and with a limited sphere, but with the passage of time we may expect the extension of the benefits to other industries and a widening of the scope of the benefits themselves. In the United Kingdom, social insurance

began in 1912 with insurance against sickness and unemployment. In the "twenties" it was extended to cover pensions to widows and orphan children and to both men and women in old age. So popular is the system that even the accuracy of the periodical census enumerations is believed to be affected by the desire of people nearing the old-age pension age to accelerate the arrival of the happy day, at least on paper, by advancing their ages as they approach the qualifying point.

Now what are likely to be the adverse comments? The workers will promptly say that the benefits are palpably inadequate—that in sickness a man's necessary expenses are greater than in health and that the payment offered under the scheme is a mere pittance. This is undoubtedly true. Greater contributions from the employer and the State can ease the position but the malingerer is always with us and has to be guarded against, lest it be made easier for him to mangle and to be dishonest than to indulge in honest toil. The writer knows of an instance where an unemployed baker's roundsman was receiving as unemployment benefit 18 shillings a week. At a busy seasonal time in the industry he was offered six weeks' employment at 25 shillings a week, but this offer was rejected on the ground that a week's work for the extra 7 shillings was not "good business" for the roundsman. Another criticism will probably be that the benefit will have no relation to earnings. This, however, is easier to answer, for at the start at least we are not claiming to provide the worker with full or even proportional compensation but merely with assistance.

A direction from which great good could come would be from the closer contact between the workers and the doctors. It is not pretended that that contact will be close, but since the occasion for payment of benefit will presumably have to be certified by a doctor, it is not difficult to foresee that if the medical profession enter into the spirit of the scheme it may be possible for them to extend the benefit of their advice to workers who under present conditions would go without. A criticism of any scheme which could be launched in the beginning in India would therefore be that the medical contact would not be intimate enough and would not provide for anything but the simplest treatment. This is a justifiable criticism, but it may be hoped that in course of time an extension of medical facilities will be possible. Obviously ophthalmic and dental treatment are two of the most elementary extensions that can be looked for.

Again, we may envisage perhaps the criticism that the scheme does not take any notice of the dependants of the worker. These people have to be supported while the worker himself is prevented from earning and it may reasonably be argued that the benefit paid should have regard to the respon-

sibilities of the recipient in respect of his dependants. A further extension of the system would be to grant medical treatment to wives and other dependants.

It may be said that all these extensions would add so materially to the cost as to be virtually impossible. They would certainly cost much, but he would indeed be a bold man who would say that such developments are impossible. We expect one result of the present world conflict to be a wider appreciation of the part played in the industrial world by labour, and when this degree of appreciation is achieved it may well be that ideas which may at present seem visionary can be brought within the ambit of practical politics. At least it is an encouraging hope to cherish.

THE FORTUNES OF A PRIMITIVE TRIBE

CHRISTOPH VON FURER-HAIMENDORF

In this article the author discusses the present position of the Chenchus of the Nallamalai Hills and demonstrates with this concrete instance how anthropological knowledge can help us to understand social processes and diagnose the causes for undesirable developments brought about by the impact of modern civilization on aboriginal populations.

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THE value of anthropological research for the administration and guidance of races on low levels of material development is to-day widely recognised, and in countries like Africa, Australia and New Guinea anthropologists have frequently been called upon to assist administrators with their special knowledge of the economic and social conditions of the indigenous populations. This recognition of anthropology not only as a historical, but also as an applied science, which in some territories has led to the appointment of permanent Government anthropologists, is largely due to the results of the great research schemes carried out by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, the Australian National Research Council, and other organisations which were supported by Governments or such institutions as the Rockefeller Foundation. But in India there exists as yet no central body for the co-ordination of anthropological research and anthropologists have, but for rare exceptions, not been associated with administrative schemes; it is indeed only the incidental circumstance that eminent anthropological scholars have sprung from the ranks of the Civil Service, which has allowed anthropology to exert a direct influence on the formulation of policy *vis-a-vis* the twenty-three million Indian aboriginals.

In applied anthropology, as in most fields of science, research must precede practical work, and in every country numerous cases of culture-contact and acculturation must be studied before it is possible to evolve a policy appropriate to the particular environmental and cultural conditions of its primitive races. To demonstrate by a concrete instance how anthropological knowledge can help us to understand social processes and diagnose the causes for undesirable developments brought about by the impact of modern civilization on aboriginal populations, I propose to discuss here the present position of one of India's most primitive forest tribes, the Chenchus of the Nallamalai Hills. The instructiveness of this particular example lies in the fact that

various parts of the same tribe have in recent times been subjected to very different influences, and thus evince the effects of various accidental as well as planned culture-contacts on originally identical populations.

The Chenchus are to-day divided between Madras Presidency where in 1941 they numbered 9,003 individuals and H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions, in which a total of 3,865 Chenchus were counted in the Census of that year. The jungles of the Nallamallai Hills, extending both north and south of the Kistna River, have been their home for hundreds, if not thousands, of years, and the inaccessibility of those stony plateaux and hill ranges, rising steeply from the surrounding plains and intersected by deep canyons, has allowed them to retain until recently a mode of life and an economy which differ but little from those of palæolithic and mesolithic man. For until the improvement of communications and the opening up of the forests during the last hundred years ended their isolation, the Chenchus entertained few contacts with the outside world and Ferishta, writing in the 17th century, described them as a wild mountain people who dressed in leaves and lived on honey, roots and the flesh of wild animals, and had a language not in the least understood by the plains folk.

Even to-day there are groups of Chenchus still leading their old life of hunters and foodgatherers, and in the jungles of the Amrabad Plateau on the southern border of Hyderabad State, we find a section of the tribe comparatively little influenced by recent contact with other populations. Here, then, we can study the original pattern of Chenchu culture and it is from this plane that we must view the development of those other sections of the tribe which have had to adapt themselves to a change of environment and new economic conditions.

Let us first visualize how these Chenchus of the Amrabad Plateau live in the depths of the forests where since time immemorial they have formed the only population. Scattered over the wooded hills, at distances of two to five miles, lie their small settlements each consisting of three to ten huts built on the edge of a forest clearing or on a slab of naked rock. It is here in circular huts, with wattle-walls and conical thatched roofs, that the Chenchus spend the rains and the greater part of the winter, while in the hot season they often leave these settlements, and live in leaf-shelters, under overhanging rocks or sometimes even in the open wherever water is available and the forest offers sufficient food. Thus each group leads a semi-nomadic existence, with a permanent hamlet as its head-quarters and various camping sites to which its members repair during the hotter months. In olden times, so tradition tells, the forefathers of the Chenchus built no solid dwellings, but roamed the woods camping now here now there, sheltering under trees or erecting

temporary sheds and screens of leafy branches. Even in the permanent hamlets seldom more than ten families dwell in one locality, and during the annual migrations these communities split into even smaller groups; it is indeed no rare occurrence to find two families or even a single couple with their children living for a large part of the year many miles from any other human habitation.

• The economy of the Chenchus is well in accordance with their nomadic and solitary inclinations. It is based on the chase and the gathering of wild fruits and tubers, activities in which little concerted action is required. There is a noticeable lack of foresight and planning in their economies and the storing of provisions is foreign to their mentality. In the mornings there is seldom food in a village and hours pass before men and women proceed leisurely to the jungle with digging-sticks and collecting-baskets; while unearthing roots and gathering fruits they satisfy their hunger as occasion offers and usually do not return until evening when the only proper meal is cooked. During the day children dig for roots in the jungle close to the village, roasting their finds on small fires, and thus at an early age they participate in the economic life of the community. There is no sharp demarcation between child and adult activities, nor is there any other division of labour in Chenchu society except that between the sexes, and even this is less marked than among more progressive peoples. The collection of all vegetable produce is effected by men and women alike, with no distinction in the method employed. Hunting, honey-taking and basket-making, on the other hand, are exclusively male occupations, while women prepare most of the food. A certain measure of barter and trade must have been maintained with outsiders for some considerable time, for iron implements have a recognised place in the Chenchus' scanty material outfit, and there is no memory of the time when they used stone implements of their own manufacture, but it is significant that Chenchus never barter among themselves. Economically perhaps more than socially the family is a self-contained unit and, save in cases of illness when help is readily forthcoming for members of the local group, the Chenchu family is able to obtain all the necessities of life through its own efforts. Outside the family there is no economic co-operation in the full sense of the word, and the mutual helpfulness between kinsmen and neighbours is not based on a definite system of rights and obligations; it is, so to say, accidental and not institutional.

What is the social system that regulates the behaviour of a Chenchu towards the members of his own group as well as towards men and women of other groups? By far the most important social unit is the family, consisting of husband, wife (or in rare cases two wives) and their unmarried

children. Each family is so independent that it can at any time sever its connections with the members of one settlement and join another while a newly married couple may settle with either the man's or the woman's kin.

Every Chenchu is born into a territorial group which owns jointly a clearly defined tract of land, and though later he may separate from this group he retains all his life a right in the game and the fruits of its territory; and on marriage he acquires a similar right in the hunting and collecting grounds of his wife's native group. Thus the land and the sources of food-supply are considered the communal property of the various territorial groups, whereas all movable possessions are privately owned.

Through both territorial and kin-groups runs a clan-organization, but at present this has no other function than the regulation of marriage. The clans are strictly exogamous and thus divide society for the Chenchu into members of his own clan, whom he regards as brothers and sisters, and those of other clans, who are potential mates and relations-in-law. However, there exists no clan-feeling in the sense of loyalty towards or pride in one's own clan and no organization which could bring about concerted action or mutual assistance of clan-members. When in need it is always the smaller unit, the family or the kin-group, to which the Chenchu looks for help and support.

Although in each settlement there is a headman who now acts as spokesman for the community in its dealings with outsiders, there is no tribal organization in the sense of definite institutions to cement the bond between tribesmen or to mete out retribution for breaches of law and custom. Disputes over matrimonial matters, cases of adultery and elopement are settled by informal councils of elders. Crimes common in more highly developed societies, such as theft, robbery and homicide, are seen to be rare occurrences among the Chenchus still leading their old jungle life. From the tales of the past, however, it appears that encroachments on another group's hunting grounds led sometimes to violence and drastic retribution; but we will hardly err in assuming that, even without an institution for the enforcement of tribal law, life within these small communities has always run fairly smoothly.

Before we pass from this rough sketch of Chenchu culture in its old form to the developments resulting from its recent contact with other civilizations it will be as well to consider the mentality bred by life in small groups in the solitude of the jungle. At heart every Chenchu is an individualist who likes to follow the trend of his own inclinations and hates to be told what to do. He will join the members of one group in their activities just so long as their plans coincide with his own, but as soon as a difference of opinion arises he will without the least hesitation go his own way. Freedom of action and independence are really more essential to him than any material advantages;

Subject to moods, which follow each other in quick succession, he may be full of enthusiasm over a certain plan to-day and have forgotten it to-morrow, and, since he has always been accustomed to follow the dictates of his momentary inclinations there exists no steadying influence arising from education to counteract this vacillating temperament. He finds it difficult to apply himself to monotonous strenuous work and is at the same time too restless to relish complete leisure, thereby revealing a side of his character at variance with that of many primitive agriculturists who after weeks of great exertion enjoy periods of complete, and sometimes even ceremonially stipulated, idleness. The Chenchu's instincts are all opposed to inactivity which, in his own culture, in his traditional hand-to-mouth existence, is tantamount to starvation. For there are no times when he lives on the fruit of previous labours and can therefore turn his mind to other aspects of life. Whether young or old, newly married or blessed with children, highly esteemed for his wisdom or of little account in the council of elders, he must spend every day of his life in the search for food. Thus food is the predominant drive in his life and in his folk-tales and legends, the ideal Chenchu wife, as represented by the spirits who condescend to live with human men, is not the most accomplished mistress, but the woman who provides her family with most food. On the whole the Chenchu looks at the world with a rational and sober eye. Phenomena which he cannot understand do not interest him and this rational outlook pervades even his religion which is entirely devoid of mysticism. Indeed, it may be said that a naive realism is one of the most striking traits in his character.

Such is the Chenchu in his original environment: a son of the forest who gleanes whatever Nature provides, without an idea of harnessing her powers to enterprises of his own devising. But the times when primitive man could live undisturbed in the recesses of woods and mountains are past, and to-day all Chenchus are experiencing the impact of more dynamic races. It is, of course, not their first contact with populations of different racial and cultural heritage, for the Nallamalai Hills are not an ocean-island, and encounters with the peoples of the plains, however superficial, must have occurred for many hundreds of years; but never until the end of the last century had their habitat been invaded by outsiders, who were determined to revolutionize the old order and exploit the resources of the forest for their own purposes.

What are the Chenchus' reactions to this upheaval which has forced upon them entirely novel situations and problems? Till about a hundred years ago they seldom met with outsiders other than the priests of the great Shiva temple of Sri Sailam picturesquely set amidst their forests, the pilgrims attending the annual festival and the plainsmen to whose villages they brought jungle produce in exchange for iron-implements, pots and perhaps occasionally

cloth. But when the growing peasant populations of the plains pressed closer round the hills and settled here and there in lower valleys, contacts deepened and the Chenchus, still the undisputed lords of the forest, found an ever widening market for such jungle produce as they had to sell. Honey and wax, sambhur horns and skins, the kernels of *Buchanania latifolia* and the sweet blossoms of the mohua tree, marking nuts, resin to be used as incense, and various other commodities found ready buyers and the Chenchus suddenly came into possession of wealth never dreamt of and could acquire buffaloes, cows and goats, as well as clothes to replace their old leaf-dress and cheap ornaments.

Of all these it was the cattle that appealed to them most and they, who until then had known no other domestic animals than dogs, proved surprisingly clever in the care of the buffaloes and in many of their small communities there were soon several of these animals, whose milk provided a most valuable addition to the mainly vegetarian jungle diet. The Chenchus' nomadic habits in no way conflicted with but even favoured the breeding of cattle, for they easily adapted their annual migrations to the needs of their animals and in the dry weather moved to wherever there was sufficient grazing ground and an ample supply of water. Thus long before any Government agency gave a thought to bettering their economic situation many of them had by themselves enriched their culture by a most important item and effected independently the transition from an economy based solely on food-gathering to the food-producing economy of cattle breeders. Agriculture on the other hand made no appeal. True, they saw the peasants of the plains ploughing and harvesting, and occasionally exchanged jungle fruits for handfuls of grain; but although they appreciated the taste of cooked millet, they never tried their luck with the plough. Such sustained effort, such planning for a distant time of reaping was too contrary to all their instincts, and they contented themselves with their profitable barter and their newly acquired domestic animals.

Had conditions remained what they were in those years of the first closer contact between them and the surrounding Telugu peasantry it is quite possible that the Chenchus might have developed as a race of fairly prosperous cattle breeders. But they had hardly begun to benefit from this flourishing trade when all their assets were wrested from them. For at the end of the last century, first in Madras and later in Hyderabad, the forests were taken under Government control and the people lost their right in the fruits of their ancestral land.

Let us first consider the developments in Hyderabad where even to-day one group persists in its old economy, tempered only by the possession of some buffaloes, cows and goats. The latest to experience the incursions of outsiders

into their forests were the Chenchus of the so-called Upper Amrabad Plateau, whom we will henceforth describe as the Jungle Chenchus. Fifty years ago they were to all practical purposes the sole owners of the forests and they often descended from their hills to barter jungle produce and neatly-made baskets, with the plainsfolks who saw no other way of obtaining these goods. So profitable was this trade for the Chenchus that they could sometimes purchase a calf or a goat and thus build up their own stock of animals. Even the shrewd merchants of the villages, so clever in leading the peasants into debt and dependency, failed to get a hold on the elusive jungle folk who remained unassailable in their roadless forests and appeared only in those villages where they were assured of a fair deal.

But this state came to an abrupt end when the Forest Department asserted its claims on the forest and all the produce of value that it contained. What had *de facto*, though perhaps not *de jure*, been the property of the group was now declared State property, and the building of forest roads was soon followed by the auctioning of timber, bamboo and all the minor forest products which were in demand in the plains. Not that the Chenchus' own consumption of jungle fruits was interfered with; such action was neither intended nor could it have been implemented. But their barter with the plainsfolk was seriously hampered, for no longer could they bring *Buchanania latifolia* kernels, *Diospyros melanoxylon* leaves for making country cigarettes, or bamboo baskets to the villages and bazaars of the plains without the risk of being caught by the Forest Guards or the men who had obtained contracts for the exploitation of these products. Moreover, when they tried to sell mohua flowers for the distillation of liquor, they came into even more serious conflict with the Excise officials. At the same time gangs of labourers invaded the forest to fell timber and bamboo and to collect the minor forest produce on a large scale. As a rule contractors preferred to engage the plains people rather than the Chenchus who, unused to coolie-work, were found inefficient. Only by gathering jungle produce could they sometimes earn some cash, and the wages paid for piece-work were poor compared to what they had been accustomed to realize for the sale of produce in the open markets of the plains. While thus the economic potentialities of the Chenchus were seriously restricted their needs tended to grow with the closer contact with outsiders. The derision of their semi-nudity expressed by the Forest Guards and labourers forced the women to conform in their dress to the standards of peasant folks, and once the fear of the unknown forests was dispelled and the plateau made accessible by forest roads, petty hawkers began to bring all sorts of trinkets and cheap household goods to the settlements of the Chenchus. Besides such jungle produce as they could sell surreptitiously, and consequently

at bad rates, they had no other assets left than their small stock of cattle; and so they began selling ghee¹ and occasionally even calves to restore the balance of their economy. At the same time game laws restricted hunting and whereas in the olden days they freely stalked sambhur and deer, they had now to hunt secretly and in constant fear of the Forest Guards.

In the meantime Government authorities made certain efforts to raise the economic level of the Jungle Chenchus by encouraging them to take to the plough. Plots were allotted and bullocks lent in one or two places and a group of Waddars was settled in the midst of the Chenchus with a view to teach them plough-cultivation. The experiment was not a success. One or two Chenchus actually tried ploughing but the sustained effort and the feeling of being tied down to their fields were too much for the instincts of these forest nomads, and forced labour seemed to stand in no proportion to the results,—which not unnaturally were at first hardly encouraging. It was so much easier to go to the jungle and there find the food for the day; why should they toil for food to be eaten next autumn? There is now only one Chenchu on the Upper Plateau who still practises plough cultivation and he, whose village is near the open country, is helped by a plainsman who comes up during the cultivating season, sharing both the work and the crop. But his own sons take no interest in his enterprise and prefer to find their sustenance in the jungle. It is only in small garden plots close to their hamlets that a few of the Jungle Chenchus grow some Indian corn and millet, which they plant with digging-sticks and pick like fruit as it ripens. As a source of food supply the crops grown on these plots are of little account and there can be no doubt that the Chenchu's mentality as developed by generations of foodgatherers is badly suited to the pursuit of agriculture.

While the Jungle Chenchus of the highest hills, though hemmed in on all sides have on the whole maintained their traditional mode of life, other groups have experienced such revolutionizing changes in their environment that *volens volens* they have had to adapt themselves to a new order. For in the lower parts of the Amrabad Plateau the introduction of forest-exploitation coincided with or was even partly preceded by an influx of Telugu peasants from the plains. In their quest for land they pressed along the valleys into the forest-areas and the Chenchus found themselves suddenly in the midst of newly founded villages of peasant-folks; the best lands were soon cleared of forest and thus their most valuable collecting grounds fell irrevocably into the hands of the new settlers. The Chenchus had no power to resist this colonization and indeed during the initial stages its harmful effects on their

¹ Clarified butter.

economy were off-set by certain advantages. For to the new colonists, busy in making the land arable, all help was welcome and the Chenchus found comparatively lucrative employment in herding cattle and occasionally working on the fields. But as the new comers got into their stride and more plainsmen followed the first pioneers, the services of the Chenchus were less frequently required and paid at an even lower rate than ordinary agricultural labour. By that time, however, most Chenchus of these areas were settled in hamlets on the outskirts of Telugu villages and this is still the situation of the majority of these Village Chenchus, as we may call them in contrast to their kinsmen in the jungles of the higher ranges. Now and then they still make excursions to the hills and live there for some days in the old nomadic style, but generally they rely for their sustenance at least partly on daily labour for cultivators of other castes. Though often engaged in agricultural work they seldom possess fields of their own, and so precarious is their economic condition in times when no employment is forthcoming that few of them have been able to acquire or retain cattle. Thus the life of most of the Village Chenchus is no less a hand-to-mouth existence than that of the jungle folk : not spiced and invigorated by the untrammelled freedom of the forest-dweller but dependent on coolie-work which provides them even in the best of years with only the meagrest means of subsistence. In the settlements of the Jungle Chenchus there may be a lack of household goods but never an atmosphere of squalor. Many hamlets of Village Chenchus, on the other hand, breathe poverty and destitution and it is perhaps no accident that we find here a poorer physique and more cases of yaws than among the Chenchus of the Upper Plateau.

Thus we see that the clash between the ancient food-gatherers and the colonizing peasant-folk was here too sudden to allow of a harmonious acculturation. The Chenchus were confronted by a new economic system before their conservative minds were tuned to its exigencies and all that the close contact with the Telugu peasantry did was to give them a taste for a novel type of food and dress and to turn them from free and independent forest-dwellers into poorly paid agricultural labourers.

There is, however, a brighter side to the picture of the Village Chenchus for a few groups have been more fortunate in the circumstances of their absorption into the sphere of rural Telugu culture and enjoy to-day a modest prosperity. In a few places on the lower ledge of the Amrabad Plateau, for instance, close to the old pilgrim route to Sri Sailam, there are Hindu temples of considerable antiquity and the Chenchus of the vicinity seem to have been in touch with the Brahmins and their dependants for many generations. Consequently they learnt something of the plainsmen's habits

at a time when their own economy was not yet disturbed by violent changes in their environment and this slow process of cultural assimilation seems to have culminated in the Chenchus' adoption of plough-cultivation and a settled mode of life. They acquired fields long before the flood of land-seeking immigrants from the plains swept over the lower plateau, and quite a number of them have been able to retain their land. In the off-season they sometimes do forest-labour for the contractors and since agriculture has taught them to work steadily they find employment on equal terms with the plains people. And in the background there is always the forest where they can find roots and fruits to tide them over times of scarcity. Thus they cull the best from two worlds and appear a contented and happy population with not too low a standard of life. Yet they are still a community apart, and though suffering none of the social disabilities of the Depressed Classes live like them in hamlets of their own, some distance from the villages of the Hindus and Muslims.

The great difference in the economic status of the Village Chenchus upon whom the civilization of the plains folk broke suddenly, forcing them to change their style of life within a few years and those more fortunately placed who were able to adapt themselves gradually, over a period of several generations, to the new cultural atmosphere and could thus accomplish not only a material but also a mental assimilation, demonstrates the enormous importance of the time factor in acculturation processes. The component elements, Chenchus and Telugu peasantry, were in both cases the same but whereas only disorganisation and economic distress resulted from the contact when the Chenchus were abruptly forced into symbiosis with the more progressive agriculturists, a harmonious and organic culture-change took place when sufficient time was allowed for the adjustment.

Quite different from the developments in Hyderabad, where the transformation of Chenchu economics occurred haphazardly, are the conditions in the Madras Presidency. Here the Chenchus have been and are still subject to a sociological experiment on a scale unparalleled in the administration of other Indian tribes of hunters and food-collectors.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the Chenchus of the Madras Presidency inhabiting mainly the wooded hills of Kurnool and Guntur Districts were originally as shy and inoffensive forest-dwellers as the Jungle Chenchus of Hyderabad are to-day and this view finds confirmation in Ferishta's statement that "they molest no one and live in caverns and under the shady branches of trees"². But when in the second half of the 19th century agricultural populations encroaching on the fringe of the forests began to narrow the territory in which the Chenchus had hitherto been free to roam

² Ferishta's *History of Dekkan* by J. Scott, Shrewsbury, 1794, Vol. II, pp. 83-84.;

and in 1860 the introduction of forest-conservancy resulted in a curtailment of their rights in the forest itself, their behaviour underwent an alarming change. Restricted in their traditional activities they began to resort to petty banditry and the authorities were soon faced with numerous cases of theft and robbery committed by them. The Forest Officers, moreover, complained of their wilfully setting fire to the jungles, a habit which the Chenchus were loath to forego since the burning of the high grass reduced the danger from lurking tigers and facilitated the collection of jungle produce.

To end the many inconveniences caused by the self-willed jungle folk Government decided at last on the drastic step of gathering all of them into large settlements under the supervision of the Forest Department. This meant, of course, a complete revolution of their style of life and economy. True, they were granted rights on all forest produce for domestic purposes as well as for sale and were allowed to fish and hunt freely and to graze a limited number of cattle, sheep and goats. Yet the compulsory establishment of these large settlements completely disrupted the Chenchus' economic system; for the edible roots and fruits in the vicinity of any village-site, though adequate for six or seven households, were soon exhausted when preyed upon by fifty to a hundred families; and to move away even temporarily from the settlements was forbidden by law. Consequently the provision of new sources of income became imperative and during the next fifty years the Forest Department tried several methods to provide them with employment; but all such schemes of large scale teak plantations and Departmental working of emergency coupes proved unprofitable and the encouragement of agriculture met at first only with a weak response.

In spite of continuous expense and many difficulties the experiment of weaning the Chenchus from their life as semi-nomadic food-gatherers was not abandoned and to-day we find the sons and grandsons of those first placed under tutelage living in the same large settlements run for them by the officers of the Forest Department. The atmosphere of these settlements, with their broad clean streets and long orderly rows of houses, contrasts curiously with the homely, intimate feeling of a small hamlet in the forest. But materially these Chenchus under the supervision of the Forest Authorities are well provided for; when working for the Department they are paid at 5 annas per day and they can earn 8 annas and more by doing piece-work for the contractors who are forbidden to employ outside labour as long as Chenchu labour is available. Moreover, co-operative societies which arrange for both the collection and the disposal of minor forest produce have been started; thus the profits that went formerly to merchants fall now to the Chenchus. In pursuance of the policy of preventing outsiders from profiting

at the expense of the aboriginals, the Forest Department has established special shops where the Chenchus can buy provisions and household goods at a reasonable rate, with no fear of being led into debt.

Cattle breeding has assumed a prominent role and there are few men who do not possess at least several goats. Although Government provides land and extends credit facilities to those who embark on agriculture the Chenchus who have taken to plough-cultivation are still in a minority.

In the Chenchu settlements are found schools open to boys and girls which attract pupils by the provision of mid-day meals and clothes for all at Government expense. Most of them are well attended and children learn not only reading and writing but also useful handicrafts, gardening and agriculture. Those pupils who have passed the fifth standard are enabled to attend a Board High School and later to receive training as teachers. There are already several Chenchus employed as schoolmasters in primary schools while others have found employment as Forest Guards and as keepers of Government shops in their settlements.

Notwithstanding the good results of the policy of close supervision and guidance in the material field the development of the Madras Chenchus in the social sphere is far from satisfactory, and the surprising number of serious crimes seems to indicate a lack of social equilibrium. Within the last few years numerous cases of murder and man-slaughter committed by the Chenchus of Kurnool have come into court and the majority were *crimes passionels*, both victims and accused being Chenchus. Rape and attempted rape are by no means rare occurrences and are summarily dealt with by the Foresters in charge of the settlements. Cases of incendiarism out of revenge or personal hate are fairly frequent but they seldom steal from each other and nowadays the encroachments on the crops of other villages never amount to more than petty thefts.

It would appear that economic motives play little part in the cases of murder and incendiarism, and we may therefore question how it is that the Chenchus, who in the jungles of Hyderabad are quite capable of settling their quarrels peacefully, should have so many murderers within their ranks in Kurnool. The only answer which presents itself to this disturbing question is that the process of gathering into large settlements has undermined their own social organization and no new system has yet been evolved to replace the old order. In their pristine state there are individualists and any man in disagreement with the other members of his group separates from them and joins another group. Thus friction is avoided and the expedient of flight saves many the bitterness of a long drawn out quarrel, absence blunting hate and personal jealousies. But in Kurnool the Chenchus are unable and indeed

forbidden to leave their villages and settle elsewhere while their traditional customs which were sufficient to check outbreaks of violence in the case of small groups of closely related families, prove inadequate to govern the relations between the members of large communities. In the old times, for instance, interference with married women was limited by the fact that the women of a man's local group were usually either his clan-sisters or the wives of his brothers or first cousins and that distance rendered intrigues with other women comparatively difficult. Nowadays, however, the inhabitants of a settlement consist of members of many clans between whom there appears to exist little of the cohesion and mutual loyalty necessary for a healthy community life, and it may take a long time till the present unwieldy aggregations of Chenchus in the settlements established by the Forest authorities develop into organic and responsible communities.

The experience gained among the Chenchus of Madras seems to demonstrate several important facts. It shows that interference with the traditional activities of a primitive race may have as unexpected results as the change of the Chenchus from inoffensive forest-dwellers to brigands and robbers, and that transition to a new economy and a new type of social life is under the best of conditions a very lengthy process. Even to-day, more than half a century after their establishment, the Chenchu settlements have still to be run by Forest Officers and far from being economically independent the Chenchus rely on Government to provide them continuously with employment. The Madras Government is no doubt discharging the obligations incurred by taking them under tutelage to an admirable degree and the education and medical relief provided have already proved beneficial. But the distress which would follow any sudden discontinuation of the present policy, which incidentally involves an annual expenditure of more than Rs. 30,000, is hardly imaginable. No longer assured of employment and probably unable to return to the forest life of their fathers the Chenchus would, after two generations of spoon-feeding, be utterly helpless and far worse off than their uncivilized kinsmen in the Hyderabad forests. Thus it seems that only an administration sure of its own stability can undertake the responsibility of leading a primitive tribe on the long and dangerous path to an entirely novel mode of life; for if abandoned half-way the people can neither turn back nor are they likely to be strong enough to proceed independently. Moreover, we see that material progress is not everything and where the development of social institutions cannot keep pace with the growth of local units the old tribal organization is no longer able to control disruptive instincts and the social equilibrium of a people is seriously endangered.

Both the present situation of the Jungle and Village Chenchus of Hyder-

bad and the results of the Chenchu Scheme of the Madras Presidency had to be taken into account when I was asked to put forward suggestions for safeguarding the future of the Chenchus of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. After half a year spent on the Amrabad Plateau in studying their economic and social position³ I felt that the most urgent measures were to stabilize their economic position by restoring those still leading the old life of food-gatherers at least some of their old rights in the forest and to save them from both exploitation by outsiders and such economic distress caused by sudden contact with progressive populations which tends to be merely disruptive without any constructive effect.

In the more distant future no doubt all the Chenchus, if favoured by circumstances, can gradually assimilate the cultural atmosphere and economic methods of the neighbouring peasantry. From the experiences among the various groups of Village Chenchus, however, we see that this transition can only be achieved over a period of several generations and not within several years. It is the next few decades which are fraught with danger for the Jungle Chenchus. During this period they can only hold their own if encouraged in the activities in which they are already proficient: the collection of minor forest produce, both for consumption and exchange against manufactured goods, must long remain the mainstay of their economy. Cattle-breeding, which has proved so congenial to them, could also be extended and just as nowadays the cultivators of the surrounding plains employ Lambadi to graze their cattle in the Amrabad Forests during the hot season they could entrust the Chenchus with this task and pay for their services in grain or young stock. At the same time their gardening activities could be encouraged by the introduction of quick growing vegetables as well as of taro and yams and I believe that an economy based on the collection of minor forest produce for consumption and for sale, occasional forest-labour, cattle-breeding and gardening during the rains would suit their temperament and the genius of their culture far better than any occupation which completely cuts them off from their forest home.

With this idea in mind I worked out a plan for an immediate amelioration of the Chenchus' economic position; and with certain modifications suggested by the Forest Department this programme has been sanctioned by H.E.H. the Nizam's Government for a preliminary period of five years and is now being put into force. Its main points are as follows:—1. Part of the

³ The results of this study are contained in my book *The Chenchus: Jungle Folk of the Deccan. The Aboriginal Tribes of Hyderabad*, Vol. I; cf. particularly Chapter XXXIII (p. 320-328) in which the Chenchus' prospects for the future are discussed as well as Appendix VIII by R. M. Crofton, C.I.E., I.C.S., which gives the full details of the scheme sanctioned by H. E. H. the Nizam's Government.

Amrabad Plateau is to be established as a "Chenchu Reserve" in which the Jungle Chenchus can follow their traditional mode of life and are allowed to hunt and collect forest produce without any interference from outsiders. 2. Within the Reserve minor forest produce will no longer be auctioned and the Forest Department will arrange for a Sale and Purchase Depot, where all minor produce collected by the Chenchus will be purchased at fixed rates and where they can buy grain, cloth, implements and household goods. 3. No non-Chenchu will be allowed to settle permanently in the Reserve and no money-lender will be allowed to deal with the Chenchus of the Reserve. 4. Forest contractors who employ Chenchus for felling-work will have to pay them scheduled wages fixed by the Inspector General of Forests. 5. No grazing fees will be charged for the cattle owned by the Chenchus and steps will be taken to encourage outsiders to employ them for watching cattle. 6. The Chenchus will be allowed to cultivate within demarcated areas free of all charge but no non-Chenchu will be allowed to cultivate any land within the Reserve. The Forest Department will supply the Chenchus with garden seeds free of cost and advise them in their gardening activities. The Chenchus will moreover be encouraged in all forest-industries such as basket-making. 7. The Forest Department will employ a Chenchu Forest Guard and Chenchu Forest Watchmen to replace non-aboriginal Forest subordinates in the area of the Reserve. 8. An outpatient dispensary will be attached to the Sale and Purchase Depot and will be visited on appointed days by the Medical Officer of the Amrabad Dispensary. Stocks of quinine will be kept there and be available to the Chenchus during the intervals between his visits. 9. Most of these concessions will apply also to those Chenchus living outside the Reserve, and those Chenchus now living as agricultural labourers in hamlets attached to the villages of Telugu peasants will be given the option of settling in special Forest villages where employment will be provided by the Forest Department.

In drafting this scheme care has been taken to avoid any measure which might weaken the Chenchus' social organization and thereby disturb the equilibrium within the tribe. Very much in contrast to the Chenchus in the large settlements in Madras, the Jungle Chenchus of Hyderabad are still perfectly capable of settling their disputes in an amicable way, and cases of serious violence are practically unknown. No outside supervision is therefore required, and I believe that the harmony of endo-tribal relations is so great an asset that in order to retain it certain sacrifices are warranted. The establishment of schools for Jungle Chenchus, for instance, would necessitate the concentration of larger numbers of families in individual localities than are now found in any hamlet and would moreover interfere with their

seasonal migrations and consequently involve a re-adjustment of economy for which the Jungle Chenchus are not yet prepared. It has been felt, therefore, that school-education is at present only practicable for those settled groups of village Chenchus who live near larger villages in symbiosis with the rural Telugu populations and even they have still to be persuaded to send their children to the existing village-schools. But to introduce school education among the Jungle Chenchus at the expense of their harmonious tribal life and economic stability would mean to lose sight of the real objects of any amelioration scheme.

The problem of values can, of course, not be excluded from any deliberations on the future of so-called primitive populations. To many the aborigines' mode of life is a subject of pity or contempt, because it is so very different from our own idea of a 'civilized' existence. But all such conceptions are relative and a culture, however undeveloped in material aspects, in whose frame work a people can live in happiness and harmony is intrinsically not less valuable than any more progressive civilization which leads perhaps to social strife or the enslavement of one section of the population by another. All those with a personal experience of primitive races have been struck by the general content and cheerfulness pervading most tribal societies and their deep rooted regard for such fundamental human rights as the freedom of the individual and the equality of the sexes; and it is just these valuable qualities which have often been lost when the tribal life of aborigines has been broken up by a sudden clash with more progressive civilizations. It seems therefore that the chances of replacing the old order by something better and more conducive to the happiness of the people concerned should be carefully weighed before any Government or outside agency decides upon shouldering the responsibility of an interference with the traditional culture and economy of an aboriginal tribe. The transition to new economic methods and new modes of life is under modern conditions often inevitable and in the best interest of the aborigines, but if judiciously planned this need not result in either the disintegration of the social system or in a complete revolution of old cultural values. It is only when environment and economic conditions are subject to too rapid changes as not to allow of a satisfactory psychological adjustment that a deliberate slowing down of the process of culture-change may be necessary in order to grant the aborigines a breathing space in which they can regain their material and social stability. This purpose is served by the creation of reserves, where the aborigines enjoy special privileges and are protected from exploitation by outsiders till such a time when they are mentally and materially prepared to take their place in the economic and social life of a wider community.

PLAY EQUIPMENT FOR CHILDREN

B. H. MEHTA

The child of today is the citizen of tomorrow and therefore Dr. Mehta rightly stresses in this article the need for nurturing the child's intellect during its growth and development in as best a way as possible. He shows means and methods of associating the child, through play, with the socio-economic order of the environment in which it lives and has its being. He has also outlined a scheme of graded play equipment for providing education to children from their infancy to boyhood and girlhood.

MODERN theory and practice of education emphasise the need for self-expression for the personality development of children. Play is recognised as an essential function of child life and the child at play is also the child at school and at work. If play satisfies the work desire of children and helps their education and growth, it should naturally deserve far greater attention at the hands of parents and teachers alike than it does at present. Play motives and performances of children should be carefully analysed and everything possible should be done to promote active, interesting and enthusiastic play. The play functions of children are spontaneous expression of desires and feelings generated by the environment, but at the same time several important factors need to be considered together with the subject of the present article, PLAY EQUIPMENT or the TOY. These factors are (1) Play Environment, (2) Playmates, (3) Play Time, (4) Play Leadership and (5) Play Supervision.

Play Environment.—The atmosphere in which the child should play is a creation of adults and hence maximum care should be taken that it is not congested nor packed with articles which are not of direct use to the child, and that it is clean and beautiful, orderly and well arranged, and properly equipped. The Home Nursery is found only in some modern homes of well-to-do families and it is unfortunate that children on the whole cannot have at least some play space all to themselves. In relation to play equipment the environment should at least include adequate space to spread out the play materials and a proper place which should be easily accessible for storing them without the assistance of or interference from the adults. Low cupboards and large artistic boxes are essential for all good Nurseries.

Playmates.—In its early years the child likes to play alone and it is naturally jealous and acquisitive. The gradual introduction of a child to its playmates requires to be done gently, carefully and systematically. It is a fundamental socialisation process which will involve sharing, co-operation and co-action. In the selection of toys it is necessary that any one child does

not receive exclusively for itself toys which are beyond the means of its fellow playmates. The selection of playmates is subconsciously done by the child itself, and there will be natural likes and dislikes. The likes need to be encouraged and the dislikes discouraged, but children should not be coerced into companionships which are temperamentally uncongenial.

Play Time.—Play is essentially a free activity. Whilst play time is a necessary item in the child's daily routine which may be guided by habit, there can be no special fixed hours for playing with toys. The desire to play with toys may be caused by several factors, namely, the urge of playmates, relaxation from other tiresome activities, the desire for occupation during isolation, or the sudden appearance of a new plaything in the environment. As far as possible play should be encouraged at any time except when it should be habituated to vital routine activities. It is well known that children like to play in bed after they wake in the early morning and they play before going to bed. This habit needs to be encouraged as it provides a proper frame of mind for sleep and daily activities. Play should not be permitted to interfere with meals, baths and evictions, dressing up and similar routine activities. Play time will be naturally restricted to non-school hours for school-going children. In this case a child should not be habituated to get absorbed with its toys at the cost of outdoor life and special toys may therefore be provided for outdoor play.

Play-Leadership.—Play leadership, so far as playing with toys is concerned, only consists of a wise selection of play materials not overlooking the desire and interests of the child and active participation of the adult in play as a secondary playmate. It is an art for an adult to be able to share the play interest and activity of child playmates, but if the adult can do this pleasantly without interfering with their initiative and enthusiasm, then the children are fond of adult playmates and they greatly appreciate the sympathetic interest of adults in their play and playthings. As a matter of fact such a co-operation between the adult and the child will create strong bonds of affection so essential for a happy family life. In selecting playthings the adult may suggest a number of suitable articles and it should be left to the child to decide what it would have for itself.

Play Supervision.—If active co-operation of the adult in play is not possible, then it should receive the minimum of supervision by and the least possible interference from adults. Supervision can only extend to the protection and safety of the child. The play-pen is an old invention to leave the child alone and absorbed with its playthings. Undesirable behaviour of children with reference to their playthings may be gently corrected. The child should be encouraged to develop the habit of keeping things in order

and putting every thing in its proper place. It may be shown the correct way of handling a toy though it is necessary that toys may be handled by the child according to its fancy. It is a common habit with children to experiment with playthings, manipulate them in various ways and even break or destroy them. The toy may be protected but not at the expense of the freedom, initiative and curiosity of the child.

The Toy.—Several important factors like native interests, home, school and playground environment, play leadership, playmates etc., affect the play of children, but in the present article we mainly concern ourselves with one important factor of play life, viz. play equipment. Play is as old as human civilization and from the earliest times children have played with natural and manufactured toys. These are the tools to be utilised in the play environment which is the children's workshop. We shall not discuss here in detail the history and evolution of toys and it is unfortunate that painstaking and accurate anthropologists have failed to notice this particular aspect of human life.

It may be true that the children of the early times played only with natural objects. Stones, sea shells, pebbles, sand, sticks and branches even to-day interest the child brought up in natural surroundings. The hunter's child played with the bow and arrow and probably handled with curiosity the skulls of animals. The child of the fisherman waded into the shallow waters of the sea shore and played with the fishing net. The child of the nomad probably loved the little animals and built small tents of rags to store the meagre domestic furniture. The peasant child played with the pick-axe and shovel and sowed seeds in a little garden of its own. With the emergence of the aristocracy with its wealth and leisure, the child had new opportunities for play. In Assyria and Babylon, Egypt, India and China the child played with miniature weapons of war, toy elephants and horses, wooden dolls and silver bells. The children of the princes played with toys of silver and gold, and giant playthings that resembled real objects. Even now in India silver rattles and bells are not unknown. But whenever the child has played, it has been interested in the things used by the older folk, things which were constantly in the environment but which could not be easily handled, things which were bright, colourful and capable of movement, and of making strange sounds.

It is only very recently that educationists commenced observing the complex play activities of children. They were interested in children; they were anxious to know about their natural and spontaneous activities, and they were keen upon helping the growth and personality development of the little ones so that they may become healthy, lively, energetic, intelligent and creative citizens of the future. Many of those friends of children were teachers and some were intelligent parents, and being interested in the play

antics of the child, gave their attention to analysing play activities and suggesting equipment, apparatus and materials that will contribute to play as well as to the education and growth of the child. Froebel started a new era of educational technique that has led to the introduction of further play-teaching materials like the set of articles invented by Madame Montessori that are included in the apparatus for Montessori Schools. Manufacturers and business men took their clues from these practical educationists and put hundreds of toys in the market for the benefit of millions of children. Today toy manufacture is an art and the provision of proper toys and play materials is a problem for the teacher and the parent.

Graded Apparatus.—As the child grows up different types of playthings attract its interest and stir its enthusiasm. The attraction varies normally according to (1) age, (2) sex, (3) temperament, (4) physical environment and (5) the social group in which the child lives. Ordinarily, most of the playthings and play equipment can be grouped under five major heads and toys in each successive group will be found to interest the child according to its growth. The groups are graded according to the variations of the play interest of the child and the growth of its normal abilities. In the first group can be included things that are merely handled. In the second group the articles which are capable of simple manipulation. The third group contains a variety of playthings and in equipment required for imitating various adult individual and social activities. Articles in the fourth group involve ability and skill, whilst in the last group are included equipment and apparatus that involve creation and invention.

Play in the First Year.—The child is able to handle play materials from the first year of its existence. Sound, shape, taste and colour attract the smallest child. The rattle, the sucking thimble and the ball are amongst the first tools that are dropped into the cradle for rough handling, or are hung up for merely dangling before the wide open eyes of the attracted, interested and curious child. Safe and clean materials, smooth surfaces and bright colours receive the first attention of the scientific manufacturer. The materials used for manufacture are mainly wood, cloth or light metal and silver is used where it can be afforded. Special care is required in the selection of toys for the baby. The edges must be rounded and the surface must be smooth so as not to injure the child during play. Of all the shapes the child is interested in the round shape and carved objects. Sharp angles should be avoided. Bright colours attract the infant but the most suitable are light yellow, light sky blue, pale pink and red. Cloth toys are now also very popular and the infants delight in using plush or velvet balls hung up by coloured strips of ribbon.

Wooden Toys.—From the earliest stage of industrial production of toys as also in the previous handicraft stage, the wooden toy had found the largest market in the Western as well as Eastern countries. Even today the educationist unhesitatingly recommends the wooden plaything as against the metal and mechanical toy. The wooden toy is safe, smooth and durable, easily coloured and easily manufactured. It is comparatively light in weight and can be handled with ease. Various types of wooden toys afford ample scope to the child for manipulation and exercise of the imagination. Educational play apparatus for the small child has almost universally been made of wood since the days of Froebel.

Play in the Early Years.—From about the age of two years or even a few months earlier, the child is introduced to shapes and colour. The coloured shapes are handled, arranged, manipulated and counted according to the fancy of the child. Amongst modern toys the most important play materials that go to make a large variety of interesting toys are the bead, the play block, the building blocks and the wooden pegs.

Beads.—The educational play material catalogues of leading firms all the world over include as many as twelve shapes of wooden beads in several sizes. Very large beads or wooden balls are the basis of the first two of the eight kindergarten gifts invented by Froebel. The beads are usually coloured in the primary and secondary colours and large holes drilled through them provide interesting, manipulative play. The use of the bead for teaching arithmetic probably originated in China and is known throughout the world. The most interesting bead counting apparatus exists in Japan. A recent bead play apparatus in the catalogues of most of the important toy manufacturing firms is the toy jewellery box which includes coloured beads and strings. The experience of passing the coloured metal tipped lace through the holes of the multi-coloured, multi-shaped beads develops manipulative skill, observation and concentration and at the same time gives scope to imagination.

Play Blocks.—The wooden brick or play block stands foremost in this group. The normal child has a genius for construction and a fondness for destruction. Play blocks are the best materials to give ample scope to the child for creation and destruction without any danger of wear and tear of the materials. The oblong wooden brick led to the introduction of house-construction sets, and these followed picture cubes and building cubes as well as various other multidimensional wooden shapes. Wooden block play, so common to the West, is not much in evidence in the Eastern and especially Indian homes. Amongst the most famous of the wooden blocks is perhaps the series introduced under the Van Aistyne Chart. This list consists of standard bricks ($6'' \times 3'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$),

double depth bricks, double length bricks, half bricks, cubes, cylinders, triangles and semi-circles. The standard Aistyne set meant for the school-room for the use of 15 children of kindergarten age contains more than 200 pieces. It is the famous Aistyne set which has been manipulated by manufacturers to turn out the house construction sets. In Germany the manufacture of the house construction set was an exclusive monopoly of an important toy manufacturing firm. The Aistyne blocks, made to smaller dimensions, are sold in boxes as well as in wheeled carts and trolleys. Picture cubes, common especially to France, have interested children and especially girls all over the world. The Alphabetical Cubes are an interesting play apparatus for language teaching. Telescoping cube-shaped boxes are a recent introduction to the toy market. The play blocks are also useful for exercising manipulative skill and teaching arithmetic. Special apparatus has been invented for stringing, counting and pegging coloured wooden blocks of various shapes.

Wooden Pegs.—Perhaps in order to reduce the monotony of the bead and the wooden block, the peg has appeared both in the toy catalogues as well as in the lists of kindergarten apparatus. The coloured peg has the shape of a bottle cork with a small dowel-extension at the bottom of the peg. Manipulating ability is developed by inserting the pegs in holes provided in various types of Boards. Peg play has led to the invention of the famous Spoil Five game.

Mosaics or Parquetry.—The child is extremely fond of manipulation, and the bead, the block and the peg provide most interesting manipulative exercise; but the pleasure derived from manipulation is very much increased when abundant scope is given to the child for the use of its own imagination. The various types of Mosaics or Parquetry sets are perhaps the best combination of manipulative and imaginative play which indirectly also contributes a good deal towards the artistic development of the child. Originally, mosaics consisted of flat coloured wooden shapes, especially triangles, diamonds, squares and oblongs, which were arranged on trays to form exquisite floor designs. Later bead and peg mosaics have also appeared in the market. In this play apparatus the beads and pegs are placed in holes drilled into the boards. The child will make pictures and designs by placing the beads or pegs in different positions. Lentil and Figure Laying Boxes are a further improvement on the mosaics which only helped to make floor designs and patterns. Lentil boxes consist of a large number of multi-coloured wooden circles, semi-circles and squares, whilst figure laying boxes include other shapes like semi-circles, oblongs, pentagons, etc. and also a number of coloured wooden sticks of various sizes. Mosaics are now also used for the teaching of the alphabet and counting.

Toys for the Toddler.—As the play interest of the child advances, it desires to play with things that require greater manipulations. The creative side becomes more developed and keen enthusiasm is displayed for doing things. Colour sense is sufficiently educated to recognise shades of the eleven colours that are included in the list invented by Madame Montessori. Several play articles have been invented to provide intricate manipulation and advanced series of play blocks and house builders afford better opportunities for engaging the creative interest of the child. Amongst the advanced toys for children between four and six years of age are colour towers, pyramids and posting puzzle boxes. To suggest effort and obtain success and at the same time provide opportunity for manipulation, the hammer is introduced in various types of play apparatus. The most interesting of these toys are known as Hammer and Pegs, and Tap Tap. The Hammer and Pegs is a single play apparatus. The pegs are slit crosswise at the ends and they are to be hammered into holes by the child. The Tap Tap is like the Mosaic, but each wooden bit has a hole through which a thin nail has to be driven into a soft wooden board with the aid of the hammer. The idea of fitting things into holes of the original shape of the article has been well exploited by Madame Montessori. The same idea has appeared in the toy market and various cut-outs are used as insets to fit into similarly cut holes and shapes in the pieces of wood.

The four-year old is interested in reading the clock, and several play articles have been invented to teach "What Time is it?" to children. The simplest is the clock whose hands are easily moved by the child to show a particular time. The Peg Clock and similar devices attain the same object in more difficult ways.

Wheeled Toys.—After the interest in creation, destruction and manipulation comes the child's fascination for movement. Every moving object in its environment has a strange attraction for the child. This was noticed by Froebel when the first two of the Kindergarten apparatus were invented. Throughout the world the wheeled toy holds the imagination of the child as soon as it begins to walk. In the beginning the child is satisfied with what are known as Pull-Along toys. The hobby horse on wheels appeals to the western child. The child in the Indian slum is satisfied by fixing four wheels on a tin box to drag it along with plenty of noise, if it is possible. Well coloured wheeled carts, trolleys, trucks, loaded barges and cargo boats, railway engines, motor cars, aeroplanes, fire engines, horse carriages, military transports and innumerable varieties of wheeled toys in different sizes are there to satisfy the child about its curiosity for moving objects.

The child is not merely satisfied by dragging a toy, but it is more interested in enjoying movement. Wheeled toys of a larger size which can be

occupied by the child whilst it is dragged by others or are self-propelled occupy a prominent place in the toy market. The perambulator precedes the Kindergarten toy. Later on the play-pen idea is represented in the "High Chair" and the "Kiddy Kar". The child, seated on this chair on wheels, is enabled to move about of its own accord. Self-propelled wheeled toys, especially the tricycle and the scooter interest older children.

The hand-cart, wheelbarrow, the porter's truck and trolley, which are used by carrying about loads of play articles and play blocks from one place to another, are of much interest to children. These articles are an important item in the equipment of Labour Schools in Europe and Nursery Schools all over the world. The child indirectly takes to manual labour and realises the importance of physical effort. It is the first interesting lesson in playing with the "Work Idea". The luggage-carrying play articles are efficient instructors for imparting the idea of self-help.

Water Play.—Almost together with the interest in movement, appears the child's interest in water. The sea ought to become any child's companion. The sand is a safe and hygienic play article for every child. The sand-pit and the sand table can be provided for the child in the garden or in the house. Sand affords ample opportunities for and gives full scope to the growing imagination of the young one. To improve its natural faculties and afford greater play activity the sand cart and sand play apparatus like bucket, shovel, sand-pencil, sand tapper and sand carver are provided. Children delight to play in water, wade in pools and splash in the wading ports that are a part of Housing Settlements in the West. Children are keenly interested in floating paper boats on pools of water, and play equipment manufacturers produce "bath toys" like wooden boats, sail boats, steamers, battle ships and barges which can easily float in a bucketful of water.

Toys for the Pre-School Child.—As the child grows up, special kindergarten toys have been invented to suit its needs. Amongst these the most important are pyramids, circular towers and cones. These are manufactured in different colours. Coloured pictures are added to enhance the interest and the educative possibilities of the toy. Other special play apparatus include Puzzle Boxes, Posting Boxes, Insets and Hammer and Pegs of a more advanced type than those provided for the toddler. Picture puzzles and Jig Saw puzzles are well known, and easily constructed pictures attract even the very small child. There are several types of block puzzles with colour and shape clues that exercise the mind and invite the curiosity of the playmates. The Posting Box likewise is a puzzle that teaches shape and affords easy manipulative exercises.

Pets and Animals.—Little children are not merely interested in bright,

colourful green shaped, smooth surfaced objects in their environment; they are also interested in living creatures. Animals are the greatest friends of the young. They are the fellow playmates of the little human world. If living pets are not easily available as companions for the affectionate child, then even animal toys are adequate to satisfy their love of the sub-human kingdom. It is necessary to avoid giving ugly, ill-made unreal animal toys to the enthusiastic little boy or girl, though many educationists have suggested that the unreal toy appeals to the fancy and imagination of children. Amongst the many animals, the puppy, the pussy, the teddy bear and jumbo the elephant are desired by most children; but the good toy producer can make any animal appeal to the imagination of the young. Some of Walt Disney's creations like Micky Mouse and Donald Duck or the human Pinocchio have easily caught the imagination of the western child. The animals by themselves, carved in wood or made of cloth or velvet are good enough for any child; but they become more interesting when they are coloured and are capable of being moved. Still greater interest is added when they are performing toys.

Dolls.—Playthings that belong to the living world are not merely objects of play. Just as the primitive mind confuses the inanimate with the animate, likewise the toy is 'real' and alive to the small child. It shares its life, receives its tender affections and mother care and listens to the word pictures of the young imagination as they leave the innocent lips. The animal, and still more the doll, has a great humanising, socialising influence on the young child. It gives shape to tender emotions and makes the children kind and pleasant. It is true that the doll, be it the old Indian wooden "Chotis" or the modern fancy-dress doll, appeals more to the girl than to the boy. It is not merely a toy by itself, but it becomes another live companion round which other interesting games will revolve. The girl will not merely have the doll, it will cook for it and feed it, give it a comfortable home, dress it and lull it to sleep, rock it on the hobby horse and drive it in the small perambulator. The doll provides another world, a world full of imagination, beauty and grandeur, to the active and interested child.

Mimic Play.—If dolls are not very fascinating to young boys, they delight in playing with human figures in another way and they mimic other aspects of the social life of man. Playing at soldiers with forts and guns may not be a very pleasant and educative pastime for peaceful citizens of the future, but this type of play has appealed very much to the Western mind. Playing at shop, or reconstructing a miniature railway system is a prototype of the dolls' house with its cooking and house arrangements.

Mimic play should be regarded by parents and teachers alike as a very

instructive type of amusement for the young. The play system of the Soviet Union is carefully planned to introduce the young to factory and farm life from very early years. There is not the slightest harm if the child is made to rehearse the entire round of healthy folk activity in the playroom. For example, there is an interesting American toy which explains to the child the correct methods of crossing streets and demonstrates the functions of a policeman in regulating traffic. Toy workshops and tool sets provide very great amusement to the boy and miniature toy workshops are sold for the benefit of Japanese children.

Educational Play.—The toy which is mainly an instrument of play has been requisitioned for the benefit of the classroom, especially for teaching the alphabet and arithmetic. Wooden cut-outs help the teaching of the alphabet and the building up of the child's vocabulary. Alphabet blocks are commonly used in the Nursery School. Interesting counting devices have been invented using the bead or the wooden cube as the basis of instruction. The printing press is not merely useful for creating school books but also a large variety of printed play objects. Printed wall charts, clocks, etc., are used in classrooms for the purpose of instruction. The games of Anagrams, Word Building and Sentence Building are useful for teaching vocabulary to the child in a much quicker time than would be necessary in a classroom. In the toy market the book has now definitely taken an important place. Picture books and story books appeal more to children than the Primer and the Copy Book, but these books deserve a more careful planning if they are to serve the play interests of children.

It is most difficult to invent toys for the grown up boy or girl above seven years of age. There is a dearth of varieties and the same articles are repeated with minor changes. Grown-ups like also to play with the same article for a longer period than the toddler as their interest is more sustained. It is only recently that advanced toys suitable for girls have come into the market and yet they are less numerous and less interesting than corresponding play articles for boys unless the girl acquires interests which are similar to the boy's interests.

Advanced Play.—Construction games which are an improvement on the original manipulative games are the first on the list for grown up children. Complicated Mosaics and House Builders with a larger number of pieces interest children till they are ten to fourteen years old. There are a large number of other Construction Sets in the market for toy-making and building wheeled toys like engines, motor cars, motor trucks, aeroplanes, etc. The metal construction sets originally came from Germany and they were later manufactured in England and U. S. A. also. The Maccano Primus, and the

Merklin sets are the most important and interesting of these. They not only interest the young, but are capable of giving satisfaction to adults till old age. Complicated House Builders and Architect's Sets of various types have been invented but the most interesting of these are the Mobacco and the Minibrix. Construction games are not mere play but they afford very useful technical instruction, improve skill, and develop the intellect. Next to outdoor life, they are the most valuable recreation for youngsters all over the world.

What came into the home as play went into the school as handwork. Kindergarten Handwork provides innumerable interesting activities that afford play as well as pleasure. Plastascine and clay work, paper articles and coloured paper mattresses, cardboard constructions, handyman's tool sets, basket making, raffia, leather work, barbola, wire constructions, bead weaving, knitting and weaving are only some of the most interesting handicrafts that enter the curriculum of Kindergarten and Infant Schools. In the toy market are also found play boxes of plastacine sets, embroidery and knitting cards, basket-weaving boxes, bead-weaving boxes, toy-weaving looms, etc. In handwork the child actually plays with "Work Life" and enters the arena of vocations through the play room.

The grown up boy and girl can yet continue to play, play with the intellect, play with the Sciences and the Muses. The advanced construction sets, as has been said before, provide a never ending interest whilst some of the cardboard and table games as well as card games provide a good deal of intellectual exercise. But perhaps more interesting than all these is to play with Science, to experiment in physics, chemistry and electricity. The famous Lott's products, which, unfortunately, do not come often into this country, have provided interest and instruction to millions of children, especially in the West. Music, painting and sculpture too are not unrepresented in the toy market. The percussion band has added a unique interest to the school curriculum. Advanced sets of plastascine provide interesting opportunities to the budding sculptor. Tuck and his associates and firms like Windsor and Newton have done much to further the little ones interest in art.

In writing the above article there is a certain discontent felt by the author which will be shared by many other readers. India figures so little in the toy world. Wooden toys have been known to the markets, especially in Northern India. Wooden coloured playthings turned on the lathe are found everywhere, and are excellently made in Mysore. Beautiful clay toys are manufactured by our village potters. The brass toys of Delhi are yet sold in our fairs. Whilst wishing the best for our own country, one has to concede that the importance of the toy has been recognised neither by the parent nor the teacher nor the national leader. In Russia after the Revolution a great

scientist took up the work of inventing toys which would be typical of Russia's national life and culture. In India a good deal of propaganda has yet to be done to bring home to the public the importance of play and the toy for the purpose of aiding the growth of the child and making play a part of education and instruction. Toy manufacture has been taken up in several parts of the country during the present war when there are no imports from the West and one enterprise has originated in Bombay which manufactures educational play equipment and imitates the best of toys in the West and hopes to create national toys to suit our national culture. It is essential that educationists should aid the toy manufacturer and even the small home industry man all over the country to create toys which are interesting, beautiful and useful from the educational point of view. The really good toy must give pleasure and instruction, direct and cultivate interests, and develop skill, personality and character.

BALANCED DIET FOR THE POOR

K. S. MHASKAR

In a country like India where the majority of the people are poor and underfed, the problem of nutrition, or rather malnutrition, becomes acute. In this article the author not only explains the essential constituents of a good diet but details a balanced diet which is not beyond the means of the very poor.

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SUCCESS in life depends on having an ideal and making continuous efforts to attain the same, however small the ideal and however commonplace the efforts may be. The theoretical and practical study of Diet and Nutrition is but one of the efforts to attain a higher ideal. This ideal cannot be the same in all human beings and under all circumstances. Diet and Nutrition would give us health and strength and the quantities and qualities of a diet would vary according to the use we intend making of that health and strength. We may desire long life in order to be useful to our society in our ripe age, with our gathered experience and knowledge; we may desire to protect our country and would thus require a diet fit for a martial life. The ideal of a man should be to fight the battles of his nation, to attain a high rank in scientific achievements, in industry, literature, culture, etc., and to make the country a fit and safe place to live in, both for the poor and the rich. "The business of a woman" says an Irish Poet "is to civilize man." I go a step further and say that the business of a woman is not only to civilize man, but *to create man*; and by man, I certainly mean man and woman both in the practical and figurative sense. By man is meant not the body alone, but the body, intellect and the soul, all three put together. It is by recognising the indissolubility of this trinity that we can attain the ideal in view. A woman's ideal is thus the highest on this earth and many of the great men humbly acknowledge "what they are" as what their mothers made them.

Health.—The foundations of the health of these three, body, mind and soul, are laid in early life and the proverb "the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world" owes its inception to the acceptance of this trinity and the far reaching influence a mother possesses in guiding the destinies of her little ones. The foundations of the health of the body are laid far earlier than the cradle stage, and even when the child is in the womb. The permanent teeth are laid in the 7th month of foetal life and no amount of tooth-brush

parades in later life can prevent their breaking down if the diet in pregnancy is not adequate for the formation of the teeth. If good diet is to make us healthy, we can never make too early a start. The health of a man depends on what nutrition and attention he received in infancy and in childhood. The health of one generation depends on the attention the previous generations have paid to this subject. A healthy and strong nation is not the product of one generation but of several foregoing ones. The influence of the mind on the body is not exaggerated. The proverb "a healthy mind in a healthy body" is true at every moment of our life. Who has not experienced the loss of appetite on hearing bad news and who has not seen worry bring death nearer by inches?

Factors in Health.—Food and good nourishment are not however the only factors that automatically lead one to health. We need something more than that: *fresh air, sunshine, exercise, rest or sleep, and cleanliness*. Food when ready for eating contains a large amount of water; and some more water is essential for the circulation of the food constituents in the body and for the elimination of waste products. It is easy to understand therefore that *water* is indirectly a food. Few people however realize that fresh air and sunshine are also important foods. The first one contains oxygen which helps to build up certain substances in the body and break down all food and body-substances to harmless simple substances like water and carbon dioxide gas. Sunshine by its direct action on the skin, takes a prominent part in the manufacture of an important Vitamin for the construction of bone, muscle, blood and the organs of the body. Almost every one of us has experienced the languishing effect of closed stuffy rooms and has seen how pale and devitalised the plants reared in the dark are.

The influence of exercise in the building up of health and strength, and in the proper utilization of food-material is well-known; but, little known is the influence of adequate sleep and rest, especially that of rest. Rest should not have that limited meaning of complete physical and mental relaxation, but includes in it, hobbies and pastimes where thoughts are turned to other engrossing subjects and faculties, other than those involved in work and exercise, are awakened.

An equally important factor is that of cleanliness, by which we mean cleanliness of the body, both internal and external, and that of the house and its surroundings. Neglect in obeying the calls of nature leads to bad habit-formation and stagnation of waste matter in the body which, in turn, has an evil influence on health. Cleanliness of the skin and clothes, of household utensils and of the food and water, help the beneficent action of an adequate and balanced diet. Cleanliness of the house and its surroundings have led to

decrease in morbidity and mortality due to epidemic diseases and have raised the general standard of health. In the study of Diet as an aid to good Nutrition, therefore, it is everyone's duty to remember that the beneficial effects of a good diet can be rendered null and void if proper attention is not paid to the above mentioned factors of fresh air, sunshine, exercise, rest or sleep and cleanliness.

Good food is the key-stone of health. A meal that gives full satisfaction, is well-balanced and is varied in its contents, is a necessity for persons who desire to lead an energetic life and to maintain a high level of capacity for work. To Indians who are normally underfed, this may appear as over-feeding and an extravagance. They have, through decades, lived on an insufficient ration and have adapted themselves to low levels of vitality. Their powers of digestion and resistance are now so impaired that they hardly realize the under-feeding. There is thus a greater need of giving them a thorough shaking up and bringing home to them the advantages of correct feeding. What follows hereafter is but an attempt to show what kind of food-stuffs and how much of each he should use per day and how he should prepare the daily menu within the limits of the money he can afford to spend on food.

Functions of Food.—The function of food is to help the body (1) to grow, (2) to supply energy and heat for the internal functions of the body, (3) to supply energy for undertaking outside labours both physical and mental and (4) to repair the body. While growth comes to a stop in youth, the internal organs have to be kept in repair in all periods of life, but much more so in old age. The human body is often compared to a motor-engine where the production of energy and heat alone are in question; for, the engine can neither grow its parts nor repair them when worn out. The engine can be stopped at pleasure to avoid wear and tear, and to allow time for the repair of the same. The human engine keeps on working night and day so long as there is life, and its growth and repair are obligatory functions that have to be carried out through its own resources and while other functions are being performed. They both require fuel, water, a good supply of fresh air and some regulating mechanism for the machinery to keep on turning without requiring constant attention.

Food-fuel.—The body, like the machine, produces heat and energy by burning the absorbed food-fuel; as compared with a machine, it is the best energy-producer. The work performed by an engine is equivalent to one-tenth of the heat produced. In the human machine, double the amount of energy is produced for the same quantity of food-fuel burnt. The amount of the heat and energy evolved can be calculated from the amount of food-fuel burnt in the body. The accepted unit for this calculation is a Calorie, which

is the amount of heat necessary to raise the temperature of one litre (35 ozs.) of water by one degree centigrade.

Calorie Requirements.—The amount of heat and energy required for an average adult male person during 24 hours, even when he is lying down absolutely quiet or is asleep, is 1,700 calories. It indicates the amount of heat supplied for maintaining the body-temperature during 24 hours, the energy required for the working of the heart, the chest-muscles during respiration, the movements of the intestine for digestion and the secretion of the digestive fluids, and for the maintenance of that process called 'life'. This is the minimum requirement of the human body, below which, life cannot be maintained. It is the need of the basic metabolism. Over and above this, we require food to provide energy for our daily work and it is this amount that varies within wide limits according to the work we do, or the ideal we have in view. An average man, doing six hours moderate work, requires a total of 2,600 calories and a woman 2,100 calories, i.e., four-fifths that of a man. Those who perform heavy labour require 3,000 calories or more.

The Chemical Nature of Our Food and of Our Body.—Food is not however something that has a uniform fuel-value for a given quantity. Its value varies according to the nature and quantity of the food-stuffs used, e.g., cereals, pulses, vegetables, milk, meat, etc., and can be accurately calculated only if the chemical nature of the food-stuffs is known. This knowledge is also of interest in order to understand the close similarity between constituents of our food and of our body, and how easily one can change into another. Our body apparently consists of bones, muscles, brain, liver, spleen, heart, lungs, etc., a variety almost as large as that in food-stuffs. There are six main constituents however in both our body and our food—Proteins, Fats, Carbohydrates, Salts, Vitamins and Water. The body produces certain glandular secretions which control and stimulate the functions of the body. The plants likewise produce certain similar substances called Vitamins and Enzymes, which also serve as regulators of the body functions; these are both protein in nature.

Proteins are complex substances containing many of the elements in nature, carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, potassium, sodium, sulphur, etc., and their number is almost infinite according to the number of arrangements of molecules of the elements they contain. They may be compared to the mosaic figures seen through a kaleidoscope, whose variety and arrangement are infinite, even though the original coloured pieces are few in number. The proteins are essential for life and are the chief constituent of every cell in the body. When proteins are broken down in the intestines by the action of intestinal juices, the first products in this cleavage are amino-acids, and the

end products in the body after assimilation are urea and uric acid found in the urine, water given off by the skin, lungs and kidneys, and carbon-dioxide gas thrown out by the lungs. It is during this incomplete breaking down process that it produces both energy and heat equivalent to 4.1 calories for every gram burnt (100 gms. = $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces; or 1 oz. = $28\frac{1}{2}$ gms.). From the amino-acids derived from the proteins in food-stuffs are formed various complex proteins for the organs and muscles of the body; the protein in the cell is called protoplasm.

Animal Proteins.—All proteins are not alike in their nutritive value; for, their structure depends on the amount and varieties of amino-acids present in the protein. Even meat taken as food, cannot straightaway be converted into muscle of the body; it has to be broken up into amino-acids and re-built into muscle. But this process is much easier than the one where muscle is to be built up from the protein of cereals and pulses. That is why animal proteins rank high in nutrition in comparison with vegetable proteins. There are about 20 amino-acids; some amino-acids like lysin and tryptophane are important constituents of the proteins of the human body. Proteins which contain the amino-acids essential for the building of body-proteins are, therefore, more valuable to the body than any others. Milk, eggs, meat and fish are good examples of first-class proteins. The biological or nutritive value of a protein is the amount of capacity it possesses in building up of the body. Since animal proteins are likely to contain all the constituents necessary for the building up of another animal body, they are classed as first-class proteins; but because they are costly, a limit is placed to their quantity in the daily meal. This useful limit varies between 30 and 50 percent. The obtaining of this quota would be rather a problem impossible of solution with the vegetarians, if milk had not been allowed in their dietary.

Fat and oils are simple substances formed from two elements only: Hydrogen and Carbon. Three important fats are found in the body and in plants: olein found in olive fruit, palmitin found in palm fruits and stearin a solid oil of which candle-sticks are made. The oils in the food are absorbed as such, or by slight splitting up into glycerin and fatty acid and reforming again in the body. They serve as fuel to the body, to give heat and energy equivalent to 9.3 calories for every gram of fat burnt. In the body, they prevent the dissipation of heat, protect it from injury, help the absorption of calcium and being solvents of important vitamins A, D and E, are highly valued for their vitamin content. During burning, they are converted to carbon-dioxide and water and are thus eliminated by the lungs, kidneys and skin.

Animal Fats.—The essential difference between animal fats and vege-

table oils is the presence of the oil-soluble vitamins A and D in the former. For the vegetarians, the milk-fat partly supplies these vitamins, if the milch animals are properly fed, 30 to 50 percent of animal fats should be present in the diet to ensure an adequate supply of these vitamins. Cocogem and similar artificial ghees are no better than ordinary vegetable oils from which they are prepared.

Carbohydrates are equally simple substances formed from three elements: carbon, hydrogen and oxygen. As they already contain some oxygen, they give off, weight for weight, less heat and energy than that given off by fats. Their ultimate products after burning are also carbon-dioxide and water. One gram of carbohydrate gives off 4.1 calories. Their two important divisions are starches and sugars. Cellulose, the covering of plantcells, is also a carbohydrate, but is utilized for nutrition only in the herbivora and not in higher animals or man.

Salts do not burn and therefore give off no heat or energy. They are derived from many of the elements:—potassium, sodium, magnesium, phosphorous, chlorine, iron, sulphur, iodine, manganese, fluorine, etc. They are mostly found in bones and, as we have seen before, many of these elements are present in proteins as well. All of them are essential for the proper functioning of the organs. Calcium, for instance, is not only required for bones but is also necessary for the proper contraction of the muscular tissue of the heart, intestine, etc. Bile salts are important aids in digestion. Iron is mainly responsible for the supply of oxygen to the internal organs of the body; and Iodine, a constituent of the thyroid secretion, helps to regulate the body-temperature. Water is essential for the maintenance of the body and the carrying out of its functions. It has no fuel-value.

Vitamins.—The emphasis laid on Vitamins in the lay literature is somewhat misleading. All the components of food mentioned above are important in their own way. The chief aim of properly constituted diets is to aim at their inclusion within certain proportions. Vitamins are substances found in food-stuffs which though small in quantity serve to stimulate and regulate the functions of the body. They are named after the letters in the alphabet. Some of these, A, D, E, are fat-soluble and some, B and C, are water-soluble. A large store of Vitamins A and D is found in liver-oils, especially those of fish. Small fish who eat plant-life in water, obtain the vitamins from these plants; large fish eat these small ones and the whole store of vitamins A and D, is thus automatically available to the bigger fish and is stored by them. Body-fats also contain these vitamins.

Vitamin A gives strength to all the mucous membranes in the body and prevents their disease, such as of the lungs, intestines, eyes, etc. Vitamin

D is necessary for the calcification of bones, which otherwise become soft and spongy, and very easily break or bend as in rickets and osteomalacia. Vitamin D is also produced in the body by the direct action of sun's rays on the skin. Animal fats are good sources of these Vitamins. The yellow colour in grains, fruits and vegetables, e.g., carrots, mangoes, etc., indicates their richness in Vitamin A. Artificial ghee, e.g., Cocogem, does not contain any Vitamin D. Vitamin E is found in the embryo of cereals and pulses; it stimulates the procreative functions in animals and nourishes the foetus. The embryo in pounded rice is usually detached and thrown away with the bran. Care should therefore be taken to save it for consumption. Broken rice (Kani ~~काँ~~) is in great part made up of these embryos. Vitamins B and C are water-soluble and are mostly obtained from plants. Vitamin B gives tone to the intestinal muscles and prevents constipation; it tones up the heart and prevents Beri-beri; it also keeps the skin and the nerves healthy and prevents neuritis. The richest sources of this Vitamin are unmilled cereals, pulses and nuts (see Appendix). Vitamin C prevents scurvy and diseases of the blood; recently it has been found to be very useful in many infections, e.g., pneumonia. Enzymes are also present in minute quantities both in food and in glandular secretions of the body, and help to break the food substances down during digestion. Fresh green vegetables, sprouted grains, lemons, oranges, "Amla" (*Phyllanthus emblica*) are rich sources of this vitamin. Vitamin C is easily destroyed by heat and exposure to air.

Balanced Diet.—Having mentioned before the daily requirements of an adult man in calories and the calories yielded by each gram of the food constituent, protein, fat and carbohydrate, it is now necessary to determine the quantity of each of these that ought to be taken to make the diet a balanced one. Our food ought not to consist of proteins alone or of fats or of carbohydrates alone as each one of them taken in excess causes harm to the body and is a waste. It would be folly to use the first (proteins) for obtaining heat and energy alone; the last two are useless for the purposes of growth and repair. Improperly constituted food, and not merely insufficient food, is the bane of India.

Protein Requirements.—As protein is the most important item for the body, the consideration of its quantity requires our first attention. Essential activities like those of circulation and respiration are continually going on in the body; during these processes, wear and tear of tissues is necessarily taking place and means the continuous breaking down of protein material in the body, whether we take in extra protein as food or not. This represents the basic need of good protein. The diet must therefore contain enough protein to supply this daily basic need and some more to make the body fit for extra

work and to keep it in trim. In adult life 70 grams suffice, half of which ought to be in the form of animal proteins. This would afford about 285 calories. The daily protein requirements per age, are as follows: 50 gms. upto 6 years; 60 gms. upto 9 years; upto 17 years 70 gms. for girls and 80 gms. for boys; 55 gms. for women. This scale can often with advantage be exceeded. As will be seen from above, children require more of the growth-promoting food, viz., protein, a fact, which the heads of the family often forget. Women during pregnancy and lactation similarly require at least 25 per cent. more protein, mostly animal, as new tissue is largely constructed from protein constituents alone.

Fat Requirement.—The second important item is fats and oils, as fats contain soluble vitamins. The requirements are the same as those for proteins and account for another 650 calories. Carbohydrates are the body's chief sources of energy, especially among the poor, with whom cost of diet is a primary consideration. 400 grams of starches and sugars supply the rest of the 1,650 calories required for the daily diet. (Total calories 2,600).

A Balance Diet.—Such is one that contains the different components of food in definite proportions. For an average man it should contain 70 gms. of proteins, fats and oils, half of which should be of animal origin; it should also contain 400 gms. of carbohydrates. If proper selection is made and a variety of food-stuffs commandeered, all the requisite quantity of salts and vitamins can be obtained without laying out any extra money on them. The difficulty in formulating "cheap balanced diets" lies in the high cost of adequate amounts of animal proteins and fats.

Practical Considerations in a Balanced Diet.—The above scientific and theoretical calculation of constituents has to be converted, in practice, into the routine food-stuffs obtainable in the bazaar and involves the consideration of the chemical constituents of such food-stuffs.

Food Analysis Tables.—Very few food-stuffs are chemically single substances; egg-albumin is a pure protein; glucose is a pure carbohydrate. Most of them, cereals, pulses, milk, vegetables, meat, fish, etc., are mixtures of two or more chemical constituents whose proportion is different in each variety of food-stuff; some are rich in proteins, some in fats and some in carbohydrates. They also differ in their salt and vitamin content. The number of calories obtainable from each for a given weight of the food-stuff varies with the nature and amount of the constituents. A knowledge of the quantities of the constituents of the various food-stuffs is essential in the construction of a good and balanced diet. We have necessarily therefore to take the help of the Food Analysis Tables worked out by scientists or get the dietary constructed by one who knows the subject. (See Appendix.) One must also remember that

though the calorie value of two food-stuffs may be the same their biological value and their cost have always to be taken into consideration. The protein of maize does not contain two important amino-acids, viz., Lysine and Tryptophane; it is therefore inferior to wheat in nutrition, which has the same calorie value and contains these amino-acids.

Food Groups.—The food analysis tables show that food-stuffs can be grouped together. Cereals, pulses, nuts, meats, milk are examples of broad-groups, where the individual food-stuffs show little variation from the average analysis of that group. This permits variety in selection and eliminates the possibility of such deficiencies in quality as are seen in maize. Mixtures of food-stuffs have the further advantage of making up the deficiency in the constituents of one food-stuff by profusion of the same in another and relieve monotony. A combination of rice and pulses has, weight for weight, more nutritional value than either of them. (see Appendix, Food-Groups.)

• *Roughage.*—Various vegetable food-stuffs, especially vegetables, contain more or less indigestible cellulose and fibrous tissue, which has no calorie value in man. This however serves the useful purpose of moving the digestible portion of food along the whole length of the intestinal tract and presenting it to the action of intestinal juices. As an aid to digestion and to removal of waste matter as faeces, roughage acquires great importance in every diet. Man's digestive tract stands intermediate between that of the herbivora and the carnivora, and cannot function properly unless rough indigestible material like that of cellulose is present in the food.

• *Wastage.*—The quantities given for the food constituents are net, and represent the edible portions. Experience shows that there is wastage in the kitchen during the preparation of food, during service and as remnants on the plates; about 7 per cent. should be allowed for this wastage. The quantities to be purchased therefore from the bazaar should be 75 grams each of proteins and of fats, and 430 gms. of carbohydrates. The total gross calories should be 2,780 instead of 2,600. In arranging the daily dietary, a study of the food-stuffs available locally should be made with reference to their cost and the season in which they grow best, for, it is only during the season that they contain the maximum nourishment and have maximum vitamins.

Construction of a Balanced Diet.—There are two classes of people in India: (1) Those who take milk, meat, fish, eggs, etc., and are commonly called *Non-Vegetarians* and (2) those who allow milk only as an animal food and are called *Vegetarians*. In constructing a dietary for each of them, the growth-promoting foods, i.e., proteins, are selected first, then the protective foods, i.e., fruits and vegetables, etc., and last of all the energy giving foods, i.e., oils and carbohydrates, the object being that growth and maintenance of the body

should have first consideration, and if anything in the diet has to be sacrificed on economic grounds, a cut may be made according to necessities in the energy giving foods.

Non-Vegetarian Diet.—Milk 9 ozs., meat, fish, etc., 2 ozs., rice 6 ozs., wheat, jawar, etc., 9 ozs., pulses 2 ozs.; oil seeds $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; these would yield 24 gms. of animal proteins and 58 gms. of other proteins. They also give 96 gms. of animal fats, 15 gms. of other oils and 365 gms. of carbohydrates. We next take fruit and root vegetables 5 ozs. and leafy vegetables 3 ozs., as these are generally considered to be sufficient as protective foods. These yield $2\frac{1}{2}$ gms. of good proteins and 20 gms. of carbohydrates, and would raise the total of proteins to 85 gms. Last of all we take the energy foods. $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of oil would bring the total of fats and oils to 76 gms., and 2 ozs. of jaggery or sugar would give a total of 440 gms. of carbohydrates. There are in this diet 27 gms. of good proteins out of 85 gms. and 26 gms. of good fats out of 76 gms. The diet, balanced in its constituents, contains liberal amounts of proteins, salts and vitamins, has variety and plenty of roughage and allows for good growth in children. Its cost is about Rs. 6/8 per month per man. Condiments and fuel are excluded from the above calculations. (See Appendix.) The monthly cost is the minimum for the above diet. Those who can afford more, should certainly spend it on milk, eggs and leafy vegetables, and make proportionate reductions in cereals and pulse.

Vegetarian Diet.—Instead of meat and fish, take 9 ozs. of milk to yield an equivalent of good proteins and diminish the vegetable oils and sugar by half an ounce each. The cost of diet is about a rupee more. (See Appendix.)

Arrangement of the Daily Menu.—Some of the above food-stuffs may not provide a good helping at a meal. As purchases are usually made for a week or a month, it is possible by judicious adjustment and variation, to have a good helping of every food-stuff at least once a week. Meat, for instance, may be purchased once or twice a week and wheat or rice be reduced proportionately on those days. Helpings of the varieties of pulses and vegetables can be similarly adjusted.

Food Requirements of a Family.—Diet calculations for a mixed family of men, women, children, pregnant and lactating mothers, and old persons require further adjustments as the units given above are usually assessed as fractions of those of an *average man*. The needs of women are less by one fifth as has already been explained; this is due to their small and delicate build and absence of severe exertion. Their increased needs during *pregnancy* and lactation have already been pointed out. All the organs in the body receive, during pregnancy, an added stimulus as all processes of nutrition work on a higher plane. The biological value of the same quantity and quality of food is

higher therefore in a pregnant woman and accounts for her increased weight, and bright and cheerful appearance. 2,400 calories is considered adequate for her new needs. During lactation, however, a definite increase in quantity of food is necessary. Every ounce of milk given to the baby accounts for 20 calories of her food and for much of her protein intake. The baby requires 50 calories for every pound of its body-weight; two to six hundred calories are therefore required for nursing a child until it is six months old. This can only be made available by increasing the mother's diet upto 25%, i.e., from 2,400 to 2,800 calories. The needs of calcium, phosphorus and iron are also greater in lactation and have to be supplied in a particular way, if the baby at breast is to remain healthy. "A tooth for every child" is an accepted fact in India, so poor in calcium is the diet of the average mother. The best source of calcium is again milk. The addition of milk, vegetables and fruits to the dietary of the mother usually makes up for this deficiency.

The quantity of food should also be adjusted according to the height and weight of the individual and the nature of the work he or she has to do. This demands an adjustment in calories. Dock labourers who have to carry heavy weights, soldiers on active service, etc., require as many as 4,000 calories.

Light work	...	...	75 calories per hour
Moderate work	...	...	150 " " "
Hard work	...	...	300 " " "
Very hard work	...	...	500 " " "

In childhood, up to adolescence, when growth is predominant, proportionately more food has to be allowed than the height and weight would permit; an increase of 25% in proteins is also justifiable during this age to enable an adequate formation of the tissue-cells and bone. The factor of sex comes into operation after 11 years of age. The diets of children which do not contain a liberal portion of animal proteins should be considered unsatisfactory. They should be given at least 8 ozs. of milk every day to accelerate their growth, improve their health and increase their sense of well-being. In adult life there is a balance between growth and wear; food is therefore necessary only for replacement. In old age the needs of the body get less and less, growth comes to a stop and only the wear has to be replaced; less food is therefore required in advancing years.

Age		Total Calories in Units	Total Proteins in Units
Upto 3 years	...	0.3	0.6
,, 5 ,,	..	0.4	0.8

Upto 7 years	...	...	0.5	0.9
„ 9 „	...	...	0.6	1.0
„ 11 „	...	...	0.7	{ 1.1 (Girls) 1.2 (Boys)
„ 14 „	...	...	0.8	
Adult female	...	...	0.8	0.9
Adult male	...	...	1.0	1.0
Old males	...	...	0.8	0.8
Old females	...	...	0.7	0.7
Pregnancy	...	...	0.9	1.0
Lactation	...	...	1.1	1.2

With the above information before us and the realization of the adjustments to be made for each individual, we next proceed to calculate the units required for the family and adjust the daily menu accordingly. The needs of individuals for increased total quantity, the quantity of protein and the proportion of animal protein, should in no case be lost sight of, and separate cooking of dishes is advisable if there is likely to be any confusion.

Aids to Nutrition of the Body.—Method of Preparation: Much depends on the method of preparation of food, retaining their flavours and essential constituents, and on the method of serving the food. Food should be appetising to taste, smell and sight in order to excite the digestive secretions. The calorie value of food increases with its thorough cooking and its immediate availability for the action of digestive juices. The flour of grain, has higher nutritive value than whole grain, especially if grain is raw or half-cooked. But such aids as excessive cooking, the addition of sodabicarb or baking powders should be avoided as they destroy the vitamins in the food. Cookers, where cooking is carried out under closed covers and with moderate heat applied for a short time, are best as they help to retain the flavours, ensure thorough cooking and preserve the vitamins. An attempt should be made to retain the natural flavours and develop a taste for the same. Addition of flavouring agents, condiments and salts should be always restricted. Crude food as obtained from the bazaar has to undergo several processes before it is built up into the constituents of the body. It requires cleaning to free it from dirt and cooking to make it sufficiently soft and finely divisible. Mastication, digestion, absorption, assimilation and storage in the body are further steps in the process of nutrition.

Cooking and mastication are processes for the mechanical breaking down of food-stuffs and rendering them suitable for the action of digestive fluids. Digestion is the process where a chemical breaking down of food-substances occurs to render them suitable for absorption into the body.

Proteins are broken down to amino-acids, fats to glycerine and fatty acids, and carbohydrates to the simple sugar, glucose. The greater the digestibility of food, the lesser is its cost and lesser is the strain on the digestive organs. Absorption in the intestines is to a great extent a selective process, where substances if present in a suitable form are only taken up. What cannot be broken down or absorbed passes out as faeces. Assimilation is the process by which the simple substances absorbed from the intestines are built up again into complex molecules of muscle, brain, bone, liver, blood, etc. Some of the absorbed substances if found unsuitable for the body are either stored as fat or are broken down and thrown out in the urine. Starches and sugars when taken in excess are either built up into fat or are thrown out as sugar in the urine. Excess of proteins similarly cause increase of urea and uric acid in the urine. Food must also be "satisfiable"; it should give the satisfaction of having had a full meal. Proteins and fats can give this satisfiability; carbohydrates should therefore be cut down, if necessary, to give food this value. Likes and dislikes, sweet or pungent things also aid satisfiability.

Aids in Dietating.—It is worthwhile considering certain aids in dietating which increase the nutritive value of the same food-stuffs and lower the cost. Ghee and butter need not be manufactured at all; either whole-milk or butter-milk made from whole milk should be used as they provide better vitamins and avoid the waste of skimmed butter-milk.

Bran of rice and other grains are richer in important proteins, vitamins and salts than the inner starchy layer, especially in Vitamin B₁ and B₂. During its removal in milling, there is also the danger of losing the valuable embryo which contains Vitamin E. Bran need not therefore be removed; if whole rice and other grains are ground down into flour and turned into bread, they would prove more economic and more nutritive than the highly milled material now in use. Parboiled rice is an excellent device to preserve the above advantages and can be obtained as such in the bazaar. Sprouting of the pulses and cereals by soaking them in water increases their digestibility by producing Malt Ferment and Vitamin C in them. They can therefore replace in part the leafy vegetables.

Salad.—Eating at least an ounce or two of vegetables as salad would help the formation of the jaw and provide the whole of Vitamin C. It is good to remember that this vitamin is easily destroyed by exposure of the food-stuffs to air. Fruits and vegetables should therefore be cut only when required; the skin of fruits is the best preserver of Vitamin C.

Common Salt.—This is needed by the body for many purposes. It maintains the correct composition of blood and the amount of water in the tissues. It is the source of the hydrochloric acid in the stomach secretion. Vege-

table foods contain much of potassium salts, but not enough of sodium. 'Meat' eaters need not take any salt as meat contains enough of sodium. Too much of salt is nearly as bad as too little of it because too much injures the kidneys and the blood vessels. Ground-nuts and sesame seeds should find a place in the daily diet as they contain Vitamin B and good quality proteins, equal in value to those in soya-bean. Oil-cake expressed from cleaned seeds is a rich protein food; if clean edible cake is not available, at least half an ounce of these oil-seeds should be included in the daily diet.

Skimmed Milk.—There appears to be no chance yet of starting this industry in India. It may be used when whole milk is not available. Little milk is better than none. The skins of many fruits (bananas, mangoes, etc.,) contain rich nutritive substances. They should be boiled and squeezed. The pulp may later be discarded. The use of spirituous fluids within limits may be permitted as an aid to digestion, They have the same value in a diet as other artificial flavouring agents or condiments.

Lunches.—Too long intervals between meals are harmful, for theoretically the stomach is never at rest. In the experience of school authorities, frequent feeding in small quantities yields better results in children both in mental and bodily health. It is an observation worth copying in our daily routine.

Deficiency Diseases.—No study of the dietary is complete unless one has some knowledge of the harm done to the body by excess or deficiency of food and its constituents. Our body is able to tolerate occasional variation in diet but a long continued excess or deficiency of one or more components will impair the growth of the young, and is frequently responsible for such complaints as fatigue after slight exertion, headache, a low grade of anæmia, dyspepsia, intestinal disorders, unhealthy skin and an increased tendency to infectious diseases. If the defect be great it may lead to tickets, beri-beri, severe anæmia, decayed teeth, gastro-intestinal diseases, diabetes, tuberculosis, etc. Excessive food throws enormous strain on the digestive organs and leads to deposition of fat in various parts of the body, not only external but also internal organs. Deposition of such fat in the heart, for instance, leads to its debility and weakness. Excess of proteins throws a strain on the kidneys and may cause its disease or lead to gout. Excess of starch or sweet substances may cause the appearance of sugar in the urine and ultimately lead to diabetes. The diet of the well-to-do shows an excess of proteins or fats, and contains less of salts and vitamins, because they take highly refined and preserved foods. Polished rice and milled wheat flour are instances of such perverted taste. The poor man's diet contains an abundance of starchy foods. Both are thus defective in their own way and require adjustment. Deficiency of diet is very commonly seen in badly fed and marasmatic

children of the illiterate poor. Retardation of growth and tendency to catch any incidental disease is often noticed in them. A purely vegetarian diet is only to be found in the poor classes who cannot afford the high cost of milk, meat or fish. There are such instances of communities who have never tasted milk or meat and have yet grown into robust youth. Time alone can tell whether they can withstand the strains and stresses of this world, attain longevity and bear healthy progeny.

Protein deficiency causes stunted growth, poor physique, poorly developed muscles, lack of vigour, low powers of endurance, incapacity for hard work both physical and mental, rapid advance of old age, short life and diminished resistance to diseases like tuberculosis, dysentery, malaria, etc. Fat-deficiency causes water to accumulate in the tissues and brings on œdema. The tendency to microbic infections is also increased. Calcium deficiency causes rickets in children, osteomalacia in pregnant and lactating women, and upsets the absorption of phosphates as well. Iron deficiency causes anæmia. Iodine deficiency causes enlargement of thyroid gland in the neck, œdematous condition of skin, lethargy, mental dulness and low temperature. The most spectacular, however, are the results of deficiency due to vitamins, and has been alluded to above. Osteomalacia or bone pains and softening of bones in pregnancy are due to absence of Vitamin D and Calcium in the diet. Night-blindness, keratomalacia, pellagra, stone in bladder and kidneys are due to lack of Vitamin A. Bleeding tendencies are noticed with Vitamin C deficiency. Sterility and tendency to abortions are seen in Vitamin E deficiency. The complaints due to such deficiencies are easily curable. Protective foods (vegetables) not only cure these complaints but also increase the resistance of the body against diseases in general.

Idiosyncrasy.—It is also true that some foods cannot be tolerated by some persons and immediately cause urticaria (itching), asthma, cough, indigestion, etc. Even milk, eggs and wheat are found to disagree with certain persons and require careful exclusion.

• Good diet can give us health, strength, longevity, the power to produce healthy progeny and the power to resist outside infections, if it is in proper proportions and in adequate quantities and contains a large amount of protective substances.

APPENDIX

FOOD-GROUPS

1. Milk and its products.
2. Animal-Foods:—Meat, liver, etc., poultry, fish, eggs.

3. Cereals:—Rice, wheat, bajri, jawar, maize, nachani, ragi, barley (jawa).
4. Pulses and Beans:—Bengal gram (chana), horse-gram (kultha), lentil (masur), beans, dal, soya-bean, mung, black-gram (udid), field-bean (val).
5. Nuts and Seeds:—Almonds, ground-nut, linseed, walnut (akrod), gingelly (til), cashew (kaju), pistachio.
6. Tuber and Root Vegetables:—Potato, carrot, radish (mula), yam, onion, garlic, turnip.
7. Fruit Vegetables:—Tomatoes, cucumber, pumpkins, brinjal, knol-khol, bhendi.
8. Leafy Vegetables:—Cabbage, cauliflower, spinach (palak), amaranthus (lal sag), coriander, curryleaves, fenugreek, methi, mula.
9. Fruits and Berries:—Mangoes, bananas, pine-apple, strawberry, amla.
10. Vegetable oils:—Cocoanut-oil, gingelly, linseed, ground-nut, kardai, mustard, cocogem, vanaspati, olive, cotton-seed, almond.
11. Animal Fats:—Beef-fat, lard, butter and ghee, fish liver oils.
12. Sugars:—Beet sugar, goor or jaggery, honey, sugar-cane.
13. Starches:—Tapioca, sago, arrow-root.

TABLE OF FOOD-GROUP VALUES PER OUNCE

Group	Proteins in gms.	Fats in gms.	Carbohydrates in gms.	Calories per ounce
1. Milk	0.3	2.1	1.4	30
2. Meat	6.2	2.0	0.0	43
3. Cereals				
Rice	1.6	0.2	26.5	113
Wheat, etc. ...	3.0	0.5	20.0	100
4. Pulses	6.0	1.0	16.0	100
5. Nuts & Seeds ...	5.0	16.5	3.6	183
Ground Nut ...	7.3	10.9	6.9	155
6. Tubers	0.5	0.05	6.5	28
7. Fruit vegetables	0.3	0.09	1.5	9
8. Leafy ,, ...	0.4	0.06	0.8	6
9. Fruits & Berries	0.2	0.1	3.5	15
10. } Oil & Fats ...	0.0	28.0	0.0	252
11. }				
12. Sugar	0.0	0.0	28.0	112
13. Starches ...	0.1	0.0	25.0	100

RICHNESS OR POVERTY OF FOOD-CONSTITUENTS IN VARIOUS FOOD-SUBSTANCES

1. *Good Protein Foods*: Milk and its products, eggs, meat, fish, internal organs, green leafy vegetables, bran of cereals.
Fair Protein Foods: Cereals, pulses, fruit, tuber and root vegetables.
Poor Protein Foods: Polished rice, white flour, maize.
Non-Protein Foods: Sugar, fats and oils, starches.
2. *Good Fat Foods*: Milk and its products, liver-oils, fish oils, red palm oil, egg-yolk, lard, mutton fat.
Poor Fat Foods: Ground-nut, cocoanut, linseed, gingelly, cocogem, margarine, olive oil.
3. *Good Calcium Foods*: Milk and its products, egg-yolk, nuts, pulses, fruits and leafy vegetables.
Non-Calcium Foods: Cereals, tuber and root vegetables, starches and sugar, flesh meats.
4. *Good Phosphorous Foods*: Milk, etc., eggs, soyabean, pulses, nuts, wheat, barley, jawar, ragi, spinach, radish, cucumber, cauliflower, carrot, meat, fish.
Non-Phosphorous Foods: Milled rice, white flour, tuber and root vegetables.
5. *Good Iron Foods*: Cereals, pulses, spinach, onions, radish, strawberry, water-melon, cucumber, tomatoes, liver, red meat, eggs.
Non-Iron Foods: Fats and oils, sugar and starches.
6. *Good Chlorine Foods*: Common salt, bananas, dates, tomatoes, pineapple, peas, green leafy vegetables.
7. *Good Iodine Foods*: Green leafy vegetables, fruit cloves, sea-fish, fish oils, liver oil.
8. *Good Vitamin A Foods*: Liver oils, fish oils, egg-yolk, butter, meats and animal organs, green leafy vegetables, red palm oil.
Fair Vitamin A Foods: Yellow root vegetables, e.g., cabbage, tomatoes, yellow maize, sprouted gram, linseed, ragi.
Poor Vitamin A Foods: Pulses, rice, wheat, jawar, chillies, nuts, vegetable oils, orange juice, bananas, onion, potato, lard.
Non-Vitamin A Foods: Polished rice, parboiled rice, white flour, cocogem.
9. *Good Vitamin B Foods*: Yeast, eggs, liver, tomato, lettuce, radish top, spinach.
Fair Vitamin B Foods: Cereals, pulses, nuts, green leafy vegetables, fruit and tuber vegetables, oranges, papaya.
Non-Vitamin B Foods: Polished rice, white flour, animal fats and vegetable oils, starches and sugars.
10. *Good Vitamin C Foods*: Cabbage, spinach, sprouted pulses, limes and oranges, tomatoes.

Fair Vitamin C Foods: Carrots, potatoes, beans, vegetables, marrow, sprouted beans, pine-apple, peach.

Non-Vitamin C Foods: All boiled foods, milk, onion, water-melon, apples, pears, bananas, eggs, cereals, sugar, starches, tinned fruits.

11. *Good Vitamin D Foods:* Milk and butter, egg-yolk, fish oils, liver oils.

Non-Vitamin D Foods: Vegetable oils.

BALANCED DIET (*Minimum Cost*)

Diet			Milk	Meat, Fish	Rice	Wheat, Jawar	Pulses	Oilseeds	Fruit, root, Tuber Vegetables	Leafy Vegetables	Fats, Oils	Sugar, Jaggery	Proteins gms.	Fats gms.	Carbohydrate gms.	Calories
			ozs.	ozs.	ozs.	ozs.	ozs.	ozs.	ozs.	ozs.	ozs.	ozs.	gm.	gm.	gm.	
Non-Vegetarian	...	...	9	2	6	9	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	5	3	$1\frac{1}{4}$	2	85	76	440	2860
Vegetarian	...	...	18	...	6	9	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	5	3	$\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	88	76	440	2870

A SURVEY OF LANDLESS AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS IN SHENDURJANA BAZAR, A BERAR VILLAGE

J. V. BHAVE

• With the progressive ruralisation in India in the recent past, though the numbers of landless agricultural labourers have rapidly increased, adequate attention has not yet been paid to their many problems. In this article the author, who spent several months in making an intensive study of a typical Indian village, gives the results of his findings and shows ways and means of resolving their many difficulties and disabilities by means of private enterprise.

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AGRICULTURE is the chief occupation in India giving employment to about seven tenths of our population; hence the bulk of our people, nearly 27 out of 38 crores, live in villages which number about 7 lakhs. As the problems which beset agriculture involve the interests of crores of people it is clear that they are of extreme importance to the life of the nation.

Rural society is divided into different groups each with its own problems. The main social classes in a village are composed of the landlords, the cultivators and the agricultural labourers. Each group needs to be studied by itself so as to give a clear idea of the conditions of life and living of the people who belong to it. But attempts at such studies are very rare. Hitherto the problem of Indian agriculture has been tackled as a whole. Two methods have been followed in this study: (1) surveys of typical villages, like Dr. Mann's *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*, and (2) surveys of large homogeneous tracts, like Calvert's *Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab*. The former method is based on first-hand information and the latter on data collected by others. But no attempt has been made so far to study the different classes of village society mentioned above, especially, the landless agricultural labourers. Very recently Kisans have started to organise themselves in order to improve their conditions. An attempt has been made in this thesis to present facts relating to the life of such labourers in one of the villages of Berar.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee has aptly described the problems of the agricultural labourer in his introduction to *Economic Problems of Modern India*. He says, "The agricultural labourer occupies the lowest rung of the economic ladder, that toiling long-suffering serf, who is the first to suffer from famine, plague, malaria and influenza. He numbers to-day 25 millions, and a single meal, thin gruel and loin cloth are all he can hope for in a year of plenty in India. His average wages in these years of

depression vary from two to three annas per diem in Northern India."

Problems of Landless Agricultural Labourers.—There is a great fluidity of groups in agriculture, while the actual ownership of the means of production, i.e., the land, is much divided. It is especially so in India where there is a sort of influx from above downwards, from the ranks of the owners, small employers or artisans, into the landless agricultural workers. The reverse process where the paid worker forces his way into the ranks of the farmers is very rare. If we look into the census reports we find that in 1931 to every 1,000 cultivators there are 466 agricultural labourers, a very much higher number than 291 to every 1,000 in 1920. In C. P. and Berar the labour population has always been excessive. According to the Census Report of 1911 every 100 cultivators of the province employed 59 labourers. The number is higher than in all the other Indian provinces. This is mainly due to the social conditions prevailing there. It contains the largest section of the depressed classes and aboriginal tribes and, hence, has the largest number of field labourers.

Formerly some of the landless agricultural classes carried on handloom weaving as one of the main industries. But during the past 50 years that industry has died out completely, adding them to the already excessive landless agricultural population.

The multiplication of landless labourers from decade to decade is, on the other hand, the surest symptom of agrarian unsettlement in India which expresses itself in the fury of petty thefts and bazar looting. The landless class, newly risen to importance in India, floats about in the country side, lowers agricultural efficiency, and prevents the introduction of machinery or improvement of agricultural tools and implements; it is pushed into the cities where it lowers urban wages and impedes the development of organized unionism, housing improvement and civic amelioration. Low wages naturally affect the standard of living of the labourer and it becomes impossible for him to maintain a higher efficiency of work. As Jathar and Beri observe: "He is bowed down with the heavy and weary weight of many burdens and handicaps, and the wonder is that he still continues to carry on the struggle for existence and is not altogether extinct."

The remedial measures that can be adopted to ease the situation will be of two types. The first solution will be to reduce the burden of overpopulation on land. Industrialization by the State alone will give employment to these labourers in urbanized areas. Secondly, small industries run by electric or machanic power will keep these landless agricultural labourers busy in their own villages and raise their standard of living. Organizations run for the benefit of the agricultural labourers by themselves ought to be started

and encouraged in India. Very recently peasants have become conscious of their own rights and the Kisan Movement is gaining ground in this country. But agricultural labourers do not come under Kisan organizations. Their interests are quite different and sometimes against the interests of the Kisans, and there is a need for their separate organization which will fight for the rights of this lowest rung in the ladder of Indian Economic Society.

• *Physical Environment.*—Shendurjana Bazar is in the Tiwsa administrative circle which is one of the important revenue circles of Chandur Tahsil. There is a pucca road going through the village, connecting Tiwsa with Chandur (Rly.). This road meets the main Amraoti-Nagpur Road at Tiwsa. Tiwsa which has a police station, revenue inspector's head-quarters and the junction for the Nagpur, Wardha and Amraoti buses, is 2 miles west and Nagpur 73 miles east. Amraoti district is known for its cheap and well organised motor-bus services which compete with railways, considerably affecting their profits. Shendurjana Bazar is a central village having nearly 20 villages within a radius of five miles. As its name clearly indicates it is a bazar or weekly market place. The weekly bazar which is held on Tuesdays is very large, next in size only to the weekly Amraoti bazar, serving nearly 40 villages.

There is not a single hill near Shendurjana. The village lies on the lowland. The area classified as free grazing ground hardly serves the purpose. Similarly, most of the area which is shown as open space for public use is utilized for the weekly market. There are only four fields having a wet-cultivation with the aid of their respective wells. The river which flows by is too small to be utilized for the purpose of cultivation. However, it is the main source of water-supply in the village for all other purposes. There are about 10 wells on the village site. There is a definite correlation between rainfall and the economic conditions of the agricultural labourers. If rainfall is not evenly distributed the problem of unemployment takes a serious turn. Except for 1935-36 and 1937-38 all the years from 1935 to 1940 were unfavourable for the labourers. During these years there was a shortage of employment and government had to open quarries to give work to these staving labourers.

Population.—According to the Amraoti District Gazetteer of 1911 there were 302 houses with a total population of 1,429 persons in Shendurjana. At the time this survey was carried out, it was found that Shendurjana had 446 houses with a total population of 1,538 (males 758 and females 780). Out of 446 houses 69 are uninhabited, these being vacant or used as shops, godowns, schools, offices etc. Our study, therefore, concerns 377 families residing in 377 houses. Out of the total population of 1,538 persons, 1,493 are Hindus (97.07%), 41 are Muslims (2.67%), and 4 are Christians (.26%).

RELIGION AND CASTE GROUPS

Hindus

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Total Pop.</i>	<i>Caste</i>	<i>Total Pop.</i>	<i>Caste</i>	<i>Total Pop.</i>	
1. Mahar	496	9. Sutar	22	18. Sonar	11	
2. Mali	315	10. Kumbhar	21	19. Garpagri	10	
3. Kunbi	282	11. Mang	19	20. Rajput	7	
4. Teli	48	12. Bhoi	16	21. Gond	7	
5. Dhangar	48	13. Gowari	16	22. Kasar	5	
6. Khatik	38	14. Chambhar	14	23. Gosawi	4	
7. Marwadi		15. Mhali	13	24. Kalar	4	
(Kshatriya)	36	16. Varthi	13	25. Burud	4	
8. Brahmin	30	17. Lohar	12	26. Halwai	2	
					<hr/>	
					Total Hindus	1,493

<i>Muslims</i>	41	...	...	...	...	Total Muslims	41
<i>Christians</i>	4	...	...	...	...	Total Christians	4

Total Population 1,538

According to occupational groups, out of 377 families 43.77% are landholders, 30.77% are agricultural labourers and 11.67% are tenants.

There are two types of labourers permanent and casual. The permanent labourers are employed on a monthly or yearly contract. But they can be thrown out of service at any time by the employers. Only men are employed as permanent labourers and not women. Majority of them are employed on monthly contract and their monthly wages vary from Rs 3/8 to Rs. 8/-. During the year of survey there were 22 permanent adult labourers employed on the monthly contract basis. Generally they are employed for one year. Only some labourers are employed on a yearly contract basis. Most of them serve without taking any remuneration as they work in repayment of previous debts. There was one such case in which the man was serving his creditor for one year in repayment of a debt of Rs. 50/-. The amount varies from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 60/- in different cases. Some permanent labourers are employed as herdsmen or cowboys. For this job, generally, boys are preferred as they can be paid very low wages. There were 8 boys (under 14 years) employed as permanent labourers as cow-boys and their wages varied from 8 as. to Rs. 3/8 per month. Out of the 22 adult permanent labourers two were employed as watchmen.

As compared with the class of permanent labourers, the second group of casual labourers is in a numerical majority. Out of 318 earning workers only 30 are employed as permanent labourers, the rest being casual labourers. Their employment is most uncertain and so they do not know when they

may get a call for work. A labourer is lucky if he finds himself employed for a week without a break.

HOUSING, HEALTH, HYGIENE AND SANITATION

Housing of Labourers.—Most of the labourers, except the very few caste Hindus stay on the outskirts of the village. Zadpi Mahars, Dhangars, Gowaris, Khatiks and Bhois stay at the east end; Ladwan Mahars, Chambhars at the west end. The Zaparpur area also accomodates some of the Mahar labourers. The one Christian and three Muslim labourers' families have built their houses in Zaparapur. Most of the labourers own their houses. Only 11 families do not. These either live in their relatives' or neighbours' houses and none pays any rent. The Zaprapur area is the best from all points of view. Labourers staying here have ample open space around their houses. The lanes are well marked out. Some labourers have raised the ground in one of the lanes for common use. It is always kept in good condition, plastered with cowdung. Having open space round about, these people are in a position to keep fowl or sheep in the courtyard. Next to these labourers come Ladwans of the western end of the village. They too have open space and decent houses. The worst of the lot are Zadpis or Bawnis, huddled up at north-east corner of the village. All the houses are alongside each other. The lanes between two rows of houses are not more than 4 feet in width. If a person comes out of a house, he enters into the one opposite to his own. The houses are very low, most of them being 4 or 5 feet in height at the front wall. One has to bend down low while entering into them. 25% of the houses occupy between 101 to 150 sq. ft. each while 59% have an area between 1 and 150 sq. ft. each. 51% do not have any open space around them but 21% have open space ranging from 1 to 150 sq. ft. each while 11% of the houses are surrounded by spacious open areas covering more than 600 sq. ft. each.

Every house has but a single room. In this room all the drama of life is staged. Cooking is done in one corner, earthen pots rarely filled with corn are piled up in another. A tin kerosene lamp either hangs from the ceiling or is kept on a wooden stand. All the members of the family, young and old, males and females, lead a common life here. The men sleep outside if there is any room except in the cold and rainy seasons. The walls are generally made of mud. Sometimes the labourer gathers the Tur stems, plants them in a line and uses them as the walls. There were six huts of this type at the time of the present survey. These huts are thatched or fixed with kerosene oil tins. This shows the extreme poverty of the owner. The other houses having mud walls are tiled. Most of the repairs are done by the family members themselves but major repairs can be done only if their financial position allows them to do so. Sometimes the walls come down with the rains and these

houses remain without walls for days and years together in the same condition.

The houses are ill-ventilated. There is only one small door; rarely is there a window. The reason given for lack of windows, low roofs and small doors is that they want to protect their small rooms from the rain and from the cold in winter. However, most of the time these labourers are out in the open and so they get their full share of fresh air and sunlight.

In Shendurjana the main source of water supply is the river. There are also three wells supplying drinking water to all the villages except the untouchables. These are disinfected very often by the Servants of India Society Rural Centre Workers. But most of the people prefer river water to that of the wells and the river is used for almost all purposes. Naturally diarrhoea is a common disease. The condition of the public wells is not very satisfactory. Two of them are used as swimming pools and the third one is surrounded by manure pits from all sides. In most of the villages there is at least one well for the whole village and caste Hindus and Muslims get drinking water from it. But the untouchables are not permitted to do so and they have to depend upon other people or upon other resources. Thus all the untouchable labour population has to depend entirely upon the river. The problem becomes serious in the rainy season when the river is flooded with muddy water. During this season the percentage of diarrhoea and other diseases rises especially amongst the untouchables. During the year 1940-41 there was a cholera epidemic in the village and in all 5 deaths occurred among the untouchable agricultural labourers. Serious attention must be paid to this vital problem as 70% of the labour population of this village is drawn from the untouchable castes.

Health.—The health of the landless agricultural labourers, in general, may be said to be good. Most of the time they work hard in the open air which gives them a certain amount of stamina to resist ordinary diseases. Some of them get immuned to certain diseases like malaria after a long period of repeated attacks of the same. Villagers are so ignorant and careless that they are never serious about any illness. Even some of the cholera cases were totally neglected with the result that they ended in deaths.

Malaria has become so common in the villages that nobody takes it very seriously. Defective drainage, dirty surroundings, inadequate diet and inability to realise the value of quinine and dispensary treatment are some of the main causes of the spread of malaria. Even under an attack of malaria with high temperature they keep on working lest they starve.

Skin disease is another very common disease among them. They do not get sufficient water to keep their clothes and bodies clean and they possess no change of clothes. Moreover, people suffering from skin diseases move very freely among others in society and in their homes and thereby

spread the infection. There are 4 cases of leprosy amongst the labourers. Two of them have reached a very advanced stage but they consider it to be a natural phenomenon and in spite of the persuasions of the workers of the S. I. S. Centre they refuse medical aid. All the members of the family live together with these lepers and one can easily visualize the consequences.

Because of the dirty water-supply there are numerous cases of diarrhoea and diseases of the stomach and of the digestive system. The percentage of these diseases is greater amongst the labourers as most of them are Harijans drinking dirty water.

Venereal diseases, which are spreading very rapidly, are hardly referred to the doctor unless the condition becomes unbearable. Some country medicines are always tried before going to the dispensary. Gradually people are being educated in this direction and their unsympathetic attitude towards allopathy is also being toned down. The main causes for the rapid spread of venereal diseases in agricultural labour population are:—1. The break-down of the integrity of castes. There is no proper hold of the caste panchayats now and general demoralization is increasing rapidly. 2. The rates of wages are so low for the female labourers that some of them are tempted to earn more with less amount of work; and employment for such female workers is more or less permanent on the fields of certain landholders. 3. The common belief is that the cure for venereal disease is to have intercourse with a young girl, preferably a virgin. There are girls under 13 years of age in this village suffering from venereal diseases. 4. Clothes of persons suffering from the disease are used in common by the other members of the household. 5. A very liberal attitude is displayed towards these diseases. Some people go so far as to declare that venereal disease is a "man's disease".

Measures are being taken by the District Council Doctor, the Health Visitor and the S. I. S. workers to prevent disease and people of the village are gradually realizing the need of proper medical care.

WORK LIFE OF A LABOURER

Agriculture is not a part time job. It requires constant attention and care and agricultural operations are carried on throughout the year. Cultivators, peasants and tenants all need the help of labourers to carry on the work. No doubt, there are fluctuations in the demand for labour during different seasons. It depends upon the nature of operations in that particular season. A review of one whole agricultural year, as given in the table below, gives us an idea about the work life of a landless agricultural labourer. It shows us the type of work he does in different seasons, the fluctuations in employment and wages according to the nature of the work done.

AN AGRICULTURAL YEAR

Season	Nakshatra	Hindu month	English month (Approx.)	Nature of work	Demand for labour	Nature of payment	Wages in cash
Summer	Dhanishta Sataaraka	Magh	February	Threshing of jwar and tur.	More demand for men.	On share basis 6 to 10 payalees of jwar per 1 khandi or 6 payalees per 1 tifi.	Men 0-3-0 to 0-5-0 per day. Women 0-1-6 to 0-2-0 per day.
	Purva Bhadrapada Uttara Rewati	Falgun	March	Wheat harvest ...	Greater demand for men.	2 to 3 bundles per 100 bundles	Men 0-3-0 to 0-4-0 per day. Women 0-1-6 to 0-2-0 per day.
	Ashwini Bharni Krittika Rohini	Chaitra Vaishakh	April May	Summer operations. Repairing boundaries (olangi) ploughing. Harrowing, removing stems of jwar and cotton plants.	For Kunda removing Langi. Male labourers for ploughing and harrowing - generally done by permanent labourers.	Contract basis Kunda removing 16 to 38 Kady (काद) per rupee. 1 kady equals 18 s. ft.	Men 0-4-0 to 0-5-0. Women 0-1-0 to 0-1-6. Children 0-1-0 to 0-1-6.
				Manuring ...	Woman labourers for clearing the fields. Child labour.	Clearing the fields—10 to 20 kadya per rupee.	

Mrig Ardra	Jeshtha	June	Khariff sowing Cotton, ground- nut and jwar sowing. Interculturing ...	Equal demand for males and females Demand for men.	Daily cash wages ...	Men 0.3-0 to 0.3-6.
Punarvasu Pushya	Ashadh	July	Weeding by hand.	Greatest demand for women labourers.		
Ashlesha Magha Purva- Fulguni Uttara Hasta	Shrawan	August				
Rainy Season	Bladh- pad	September	Preparation for Rabbi crop. Har- rowing and ploughing.	Demand for men ...		Women 0.1-6 to 0.2-6.
Chitra Swati Vishakha	Ashwin	October	Rabbi sowing. Horsegram sow- ing. Wheat sow- ing.	Demand for men ...	Daily wages in cash.	Men 2-2.0 to 0.3-0.
Anuradha	Kartik	November	Cotton picking ...	Great demand for women.	Daily wages ...	Women 0.2-0 to 0.2-6.
			Groundnut ready.	Demand for child labour.		
Cold Season	Jeshtha Mula	December	Cotton picking ...	Demand for Child labour. Less de- mand for men.	On share basis. 2 Dhadas per 1 maund.	Women 0.2-6 to 0.3-0. Children 0.1-6 to 0.2-0.
	Purv- ashadha Ut- tarashadhi Shrawan	January	Jwar and Tur harvesting. Cotton picking ...	Equal demand for men and women.	Share basis 2 to 2½ Kudays (8 seers 1 Kudav) per 1 Tifan.	Men 0.2-6 to 0.3-6. Women 0.1-6 to 0.2-0.

318 persons or 69.3% of the total labour population are earning workers. 39 persons or 8.5% of the total labour population are non-earning workers, and 102 persons or 22.2% are dependents. Child labour is not uncommon and 32 children (20.5%) under 14 years are working members of the families. There are 2 boys under 7 years who have to earn their livelihood. Between the age of 7 and 14 years more than 50% of the children are earning workers. Out of the rest 29 (18.6%) are non-earning workers and 95 (60.9%) are dependents. There are 8 children among the dependents attending a primary school, 26 (34.2%) of the total number of girls under 14 years are non-earning workers. Most of them do all the household work when their parents are out in the fields.

The figures given in *Rural and Urban Wages in the Central Provinces and Berar* published by the C. P. Government for the years 1931 to 1940 clearly show that the wages have come down from 5 as. 9 ps. to 3 as. for men and from 2 as. 9 ps. to 2 as. for women in 10 years while the price for jowar has gone up from 5 as. per 8 seers (kudav) to 9.8 as. per kudav during the same period. Thus the economic condition of the labourers is becoming worse every year. At the time of the survey, the average wage for the male labourer was 3 as. and for the female labourer 2 as. per day.

Of the 318 earning workers 140 are males. All of them, however, are not engaged in agriculture. Two of them earn their livelihood by begging. One Mahar has made begging his profession since a long time. Another is compelled to beg as he is incapable of doing any work due to old age. Thus there are in all 138 men whose main occupation is agricultural labour. 32 children (under 14 years) are earning workers. Of the 146 females one runs a bidi-shop. The average income per annum of the male worker from agricultural wages is Rs. 42/- (41.9%), of the female worker is Rs. 16/- (15.9%), and of a child labourer Rs. 9/- (9.3%). The total income derived from agricultural wages is Rs. 8,562-3-0 per annum for 314 workers and the average annual income from agricultural wages is Rs. 27/- (27.2%), per labourer.

Subsidiary occupations have gradually dwindled and very few occupations are left at present to supplement the wages which keep on falling every year. The total annual income of 35 families from such subsidiary occupations as (1) collecting and selling fuel, (2) fishing, (3) basket-weaving, (4) kamdari, (5) selling meat, (6) pan-bidi shop, (7) poultry keeping, (8) preparing charcoal, (9) preparing and repairing mattresses and (10) tailoring is Rs. 685/-. Annual total income of 27 families from animals is Rs. 381/-. The following table gives an idea of the income of these labourers.

ANNUAL INCOME IN RUPEES OF LANDLESS LABOURERS' FAMILIES

Agricultural Wages	Subsidiary Occupations	Income from Animals	Miscellaneous	Total
8,562-3-0	685	381	58	9,686-3-0
88.4%	7.1%	3.9%	0.6%	

The total population of landless agricultural labourers is 459 and the total annual income is Rs. 9,686-3-0. So the per capita income for a landless agricultural labourer is Rs. 21/- per annum or 11 pies per day.

Expenditure.—Family of a landless agricultural labourer has to manage everything within its meagre income. It has hardly any savings to fall back on. Neither can it get any loan except for special purposes such as marriage, death, etc. As there cannot be any provision possible in the current budget, labourers borrow that amount from somebody and repay it either by serving the creditor for the next year or by paying in instalments. If there is shortage of employment, these labourers really starve for days together or live on some cooked vegetables got from the jungles. Naturally, the main item in their expenditure is food and next come necessities such as clothing, food, etc. The table below shows how these labourers spend their earnings:—

Food	Clothing	Habits	Special Purposes	General	Total
Rs. 6,784-1-9	1,469-11-0	396-14-0	307	728-8-3	9,686-3-0
72%	14%	4.6%	3.1%	6.3%	

Out of every rupee spent by a labourer 11½ as. are on food, 2½ as. on clothing, 9 ps. on habits, 6 ps. on special purposes and 1 anna on general items.

A typical budget for a family of 4 members, according to the minimum standard of living, will be somewhat as follows:—

FAMILY BUDGET FOR A FAMILY OF 4 MEMBERS

In Rupees

Food	Clothing	Habits	Repairs	Lighting	Special Purposes	General	Total
54-0-0	19-0-0	10-0-0	5-0-0	2-0-0	5-0-0	10-0-0	105-0-0

Let us now compare this budget with that of Case No. 81 where there is a family of 4 members—husband, wife and two children:

FAMILY BUDGET OF CASE NO. 81

Food	Clothing	Habits	General	Total
40-0-0	8-0-0	3-0-0	4-12-0	55-12-0

This will show how the labourers lead an almost animal-like existence, half-starved, half-naked, exposed to disease and without any provision for the future. Even if we take the average income of a family which is Rs. 62-5-0

and compare it with the necessities of life which require at least Rs. 105/- we see that at most all the labourers are living much below the minimum standard required.

Upto the age of 5 both boys and girls do not get any clothes for themselves. They either remain without clothes or get old and worn out clothes from their older siblings. After 5 years the girl gets a skirt (parkar) and a bodice (choli), and a boy wears only one shirt. If possible a pair of each is prepared for the children. The dress of a man consists of a small dhoti, either a shirt or small piece of cloth (dupatta) used instead of a shirt. Formerly people used to wear turbans but now-a-days white caps are common among the younger generation. A pair of dhoti and shirts last for more than a year. Women wear coloured sarees of rough texture and cholis (bodice). Ordinarily a woman is lucky if she gets two sarees and two cholis to wear year in and year out. Otherwise she has to wear them for about a year and a half. They wash their garments daily, provided they have at least a pair of each. Old clothes are used as bedding and sarees and dhotis to be worn the next day are used as coverings (instead of blankets) the previous night. Thus the maximum utility is obtained from each clothing till it becomes completely useless.

VILLAGE RECONSTRUCTION

"In India there has not been a comprehensive survey of or handling of the rural problem as a whole. We need to get away from the lamentable fragmentation of effort which has resulted in a regrettably small result from the expenditure of public funds depriving the development movement of its effectiveness. The number of minor officials who now deal piecemeal with his problems, the villager cannot understand and often does not trust."¹ The Government has now realised the necessity of helping indirectly non-official bodies which can command the respect and confidence of the villagers. Non-official bodies in co-operation with several other agencies can take up a more comprehensive programme tackling every phase of life of an Indian villager. The District Village Uplift Committee has given recognition to the work carried on by the Servants of India Society by giving it an annual grant of about Rs. 300/-. The Society has been able to co-ordinate the following agencies for village reconstruction work with Shendurjana as the central unit: the District Council, the Central Provinces and Berar Red Cross Welfare Committee, Provincial Co-operative Department and other Government Departments such as the Agricultural Department, etc. These agencies are carrying on the work of village reconstruction in the following way:

Education.—There is a District Council Primary School upto Standard

¹ Hatch Spencer : *Up From Poverty*.

IV. As there is only a one-room building built by the District Council for the School all the classes cannot be accommodated in it. The S. I. S. has hired a house where a class is conducted. Two other classes are accommodated in the Musafirkhana. The need of local leadership, especially from the point of view of Welfare Work among women, was badly felt. In order to meet the situation, the S. I. S. helped one girl from the village to be trained in the Normal School at Nagpur. She is now appointed as a teacher by the District Council and has been able to win the confidence of the villagers and carry on the programme effectively, especially among women. The S. I. S. is attempting to turn this school into a vocational school with agriculture as a basic vocation. The Society is prepared to provide facilities for teaching other occupations such as handloom weaving, carpentry, poultry farming, etc. If this attempt takes a concrete form it will benefit the labourers a good deal. The book knowledge imparted at present does not help the labourers in any way. Unless arrangements are made to teach some crafts labourers will not send their children to school and deprive themselves of whatever small amount these children earn through agricultural labour. Only 8 children attended school at the time this survey was made.

Medical Aid.—The District Council has opened a cheap type dispensary at Shendurjana in the Red Cross Society's building. The S. I. S. has provided quarters for the doctor and the compounder. The doctor pays weekly visits to the neighbouring four villages. On the weekly market day people from different villages come for medical aid. During the year 1939-40 the total number of outdoor and indoor patients treated was 13,690.

Maternity and Child Welfare Centre.—The C. P. & Berar Red Cross Welfare Committee have constructed three buildings in Shendurjana. In the main building the Maternity & Child Welfare Centre is conducted. The Red Cross Society has appointed two Health Visitors at the Centre. Training classes for 'Dais' are conducted by the Health Visitors. There are 100 trained 'Dais' working in different villages and about 23 are under training. The S. I. S. bears the recurring expenses of the Centre and provides conveyance for the Health Visitor who visits the neighbouring villages daily and attends labour cases whenever called upon. There is one Maternity Home for the caste people and one for the Harijans. These Homes started by the S. I. S. serve as practical Demonstration Centres for the 'Dais'. Most of the cases are free of charge but a nominal fee of Rs. 3/- is charged to the people who can afford to pay it.

Financial Aid.—Two Co-operative Societies were started by the S. I. S. —the Crop-Loan Society for the landholders and one for the landless agricultural labourers. But the labourers were divided into two groups and they could

not take advantage of this facility. The S. I. S. may again help these labourers if they intend to have co-operative cultivation.

Demonstration Centres.—In order to encourage the villagers in general and the labourers in particular to start Cottage Industries the S. I. S. is running three Demonstration Centres, where people who wish to start subsidiary industries like weaving, carpentry and poultry farming may come and learn these occupations. One experimental farm has also been started. The main idea of having all these centres is to train the school children for certain vocations. Radio programme attracts the villagers in the evening. At the same time a reading room is kept open for the public. The S. I. S. also maintains the Post Office by paying the deficit every year. The Post Office serves about 12 surrounding villages on the market day. Other types of recreational and social programmes are also arranged by the S. I. S.

The needs of the agricultural labourers are greater than those of other communities as their problems are intimately connected with the problems of untouchability, most of the labourers being untouchables. Therefore the S. I. S. has started its Reconstruction Centre in the labour locality and has succeeded to a great extent in winning their confidence through personal contact. Once the people are confident about the work done by outside institutions it is easy to get their co-operation. They themselves take the initiative in some of the activities now and we may hope that in the near future leaders from among the people will come forward to help their unfortunate fellow-beings out of their difficulties.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE Eighth Annual Report of the District Probation and After-Care Association, Poona, for the year 1941-42 shows that Probation Work and Child Care have not taken a permanent place in the programme of welfare work in the Bombay Presidency. It is not easy to make important changes and improvements during war time. Nevertheless, the Report is an example of steady work done on systematic lines as laid down in previous years.

For successful prosecution of a complete programme of probation work the co-operation of the public and the police are imperative. The Association has done spade work to explain to the public the nature of the work done, but a good deal more of continued propaganda and publicity are needed if the public are to come forward to expose the exploitation of children which is so rife, especially in the cities. The report says that a good deal more of police co-operation will be necessary if the aims of the Association are to be fulfilled. The present type of organisation of the Police Force and its methods do not happily blend with those employed by the social workers entrusted with child care, and yet senior police officers could do a good deal to humanise the police system and make the members appreciate and understand the importance of bringing light and happiness to children, who are mostly innocent of crimes and who are mere victims of home and environmental conditions.

It is unfortunate that the Association has not yet put up its own Remand Home for Boys and Girls. Such an Institution is very necessary to make its work really effective.

HOME FOR THE HOMELESS BOYS

A HOMELESS and dependent child is one who through no fault of his own has lost his natural support and must depend upon the public for the necessities of life and for such upbringing as current standards require. Three distinct types of assistance for dependent children—institutional care, aid to dependent families and placement in foster homes—are now in common practice in progressive countries like America. For certain types of children institutional care is considered best. Essentially, the natural place for the child is in the family home under the protection and care of the parents. As family home life is the normal condition of childhood, the child should not be separated from his home because of poverty alone. Where poverty is the

cause, the system of maintaining children in their own homes by means of public assistance to the family is now recognized as the best method.

Where such removal is necessary for other causes or if the child has no such home, it is the simplest step in reasoning to argue that the next best thing for such an underprivileged child is some other family home that will give him kindly upbringing. Hence the method of placing children in foster homes is coming to be recognized as one of the best methods of caring for dependent children.

But in India the common practice is to take care of the orphans and destitutes in institutions. And there are many such run on sectarian lines. There are some which are open to all dependent children irrespective of caste, creed or race. The Calcutta Homeless Boys' Home is one such. Though it is a small home, its work is well planned. It gives general as well as elementary technical education. It gives shelter to the helpless youngsters whether employed or unemployed. Though it accommodates only about fifty boys and is run most economically yet it does not seem to receive the financial aid it deserves.

Calcutta is a large city and its problem of child dependency must be great. It is desirable therefore to bring all institutions with similar aims and objects under the direct management of a single Society recognized and aided by the State. The care and treatment of dependent and neglected children is the field of greatest promise for remedial and preventive social service. The welfare of society hangs upon the well-being and the potentiality of children. The child is the ward of the State and conservation of childhood should therefore be its first concern. The programme of such conservation should be country-wide and in charge of a department of public welfare.

ADULT EDUCATION

THE problem of adult education in India received a good deal of attention when the Congress Governments were in power in the majority of the provinces. In India adult education programmes follow two main directions. On the one hand there is an attempt to increase the percentage of literacy; on the other hand, attempts are made to provide University extension lectures to those who cannot afford or who are not fortunate in receiving college education. Adult education presents very complex and difficult problems and requires far more systematic and scientific approach than has been the case up to now.

A recent pamphlet, "Suggested Studies in Adult Education", published by the Institute of Adult Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1942—though brief and concise in its contents—gives a very good

idea about the fundamental consideration and planning of adult education before efforts are translated into action.

The Institute of Adult Education came into existence in 1941. It was a part of the Teachers College at Columbia, and it was entrusted with the task of "conducting an intensive study of the opportunities, problems, materials, and methods of adult education, and for assistance in the training of leaders and workers in the field". The Institute further contemplated a programme of basic research along sociological, psychological and educational lines.

This Institute is a central body for the purpose of conducting research and of guiding and training the leaders of adult education. It cannot be denied that in spite of the complexity of the problem in India on account of the existence of many languages, a central body of experts is necessary to act as pioneers and determine the best methods that will contribute to the spread of knowledge and literacy, and the increase of intelligence amongst the people of India.

It is unfortunate that its work, which we should have liked to follow with great interest, has to be postponed for the duration of the war as it has now to study the problems of adult education that are closely related to the successful prosecution of the war. However, the small pamphlet is adequate at least to show the manner in which the problem has to be tackled in this country. If during the war and in the absence of popular ministries it is not possible for the governments concerned to organise a systematic approach to the adult education problem, it is quite possible for the educationists and the public to devise better ways for serving the most urgent cause that will help to uplift the country, and prepare it for the efficient performance of important national tasks.

The pamphlet makes several interesting suggestions regarding fundamental problems like the production of printed materials for adult education, including a manual for teachers and several manuals at different levels for students, materials for discussion, illustrations and pictorial representations, cinema lectures, etc. The adult education drive that was carried on in Bombay demonstrated the complete lack of preparedness in these directions so far as local conditions were concerned.

More instructive are the references to the administration of adult education, even though these are in the nature of questions that the Institute evidently desires to answer in detail later.

The American view of adult education covers a far wider panorama than is permitted by the circumscribed Indian horizon. It includes education in arts, consumer education, family education, health education, museum education, music education, political education, radio adult education,

recreative education, religious education, vocational education, and a host of subjects so intimately connected with human life.

An interesting revelation of the pamphlet is the fact that the initiative for adult education is neither left to a few societies created for the purpose nor is it wholly entrusted to the State, but the initiative is taken by all sorts of educational, religious, economic, political, welfare and other agencies that include adult education as a part of their programme. Such a widespread recognition of the need of adult education speaks of an awakened public consciousness which has yet to be created and developed in our country. We have not yet touched the fringe of an adult education programme. There is a lack of leadership and a dearth of teachers. Plans and methods have yet to reach maturity. There is a vast population to be dealt with, especially in the villages. In spite of the war, let us hope that adult education will receive due attention especially from the owners of industries and the rural development department, and that a large number of public agencies catering to human welfare will introduce adult education as a part of the programme.

A vital need is the creation of a central research and directive organisation for the whole country which can provide a meeting place for all thinkers on adult education problems and a laboratory for active workers who mean to devote their time and energy to the intellectual awakening of the masses of this country.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND INSURANCE COMPANIES

THE problem of public health, although most acute in our country, has not attracted the attention it deserves due partly to its magnitude and partly to the indifference of the State. Local institutions and private charity have but touched the problem on the fringe. Even the Life Insurance Companies, though they are essentially concerned with and interested in the health of the people, have not realised the great role they are capable of playing in the improvement of public health. It is therefore encouraging to note from the literature received by us from the Trinity Mutual Assurance Company, Limited, Bombay, that it has before it an ambitious but nonetheless practical Health Conservation Scheme to be carried through with the co-operation of not only the other Insurance Companies but all those associated with Insurance, shareholders, policy-holders, field-workers, etc.

It proposes to convene several conferences—of Medical Officers, Shareholders, Journalists, etc.—to formulate various schemes and to instruct the policy-holders as well as the general public in the canons of public health. But by far the most important item in its programme is the establishment of a National Health Council to advise, collaborate and co-operate with the

existing public health authorities. Among other things, it shall encourage and assist in the organization of Health Weeks, and form Health Contests, Health Clubs and Establishments, arrange for the provision of medical hospitals and maternity facilities to all towns and villages, encourage and supervise research in nutrition and dietetics, collect and disseminate information and knowledge regarding epidemics, health activities, etc., and try and legislate for compulsory life insurance benefit to all labourers. These are steps in the right direction. Every such enterprise to promote and preserve public health is a laudable one and deserves to be encouraged.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The History of British Civilisation. By ESME WINGFIELD-STRATFORD. London : George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1938. Pp. 1335. 16sh. 6d.

In the most critical year of the World War II an interpretation of British Civilisation by an English author is bound to prove at least of academic interest. Beginning from the Stone Age, the Author published his First Edition in 1928, and 1938 has seen the fourth print of the Second Edition. The work deals with events upto 1914 only. Esme Wingfield-Stratford, the author of the book, is an Ex-fellow of King's College, Cambridge and his voluminous work, which could have been written in fewer pages, speaks with the Cambridge accent and outlook. In the prologue, the author says that the task of the historian is "to tell the whole truth—and nothing but the truth." Though throughout the work he has shown a comparatively balanced outlook and his presentation of British History is not so prosaic as it used to be, he at least shows that however sincere a historian might be, it is not within his powers to arrive at the whole truth. History, if it is to be a record of truth, should be able to record the pulse of thoughts and emotions of the millions who rarely have the opportunity to start upon the stage of life, and be fortunate enough to draw the attention of the scholastic historian.

It is not possible to review such an extensive work in a few pages, but some of the ideas of the author on fundamental issues of history are very interesting. For example, discussing feudalism, the author suggests that "the modern joke that an Englishman loves a lord was, in those days, sober truth". "Regarded from the standpoint of feudal law, the lord was the owner of all the land and the master of all its inhabitants; from the standpoint of what we may call community or folk law he was in the position of a highly paid director who was also the largest shareholder in the company." The failure of feudalism is contributed by the attempt to put the estate of the lord over patriotism.

The Anglo-Saxons are a patriotic people, and the author locates the seed of British patriotism in Wales. "Wales has all the tenacity of life that springs from a low grade of organisation. She had the advantages of ambush and evasions afforded by her mountains, and she had, besides, a pride of race and tradition." The seed of patriotism grows into the tree of the Magna Carta and the author is elated by the statement "To no man will we sell, to no man will we deny or delay right of justice". It is only in the latter pages

of the book that we have to notice how the British people lived up to build a future on such a magnificent foundation.

The author's version about how England after Runnymede became a nation will prove of interest to many Indians. "As early as Henry II Englishmen were beginning to think of themselves no longer as a conquered but a conquering people, sons of Britons and countrymen of Arthur." And yet these people were not united.

When Oxford draws its Knife,
England's soon at strife,

is but the beginning of the blood that was to flow between the North and the South and the West, and between Church and Church in the name of Christ. The chapter on "Church and the Nation" shows how religion raised its head in the heart of politics. The year 1295 becomes a turning point in history. Discussing King Edward's attack on Wales, the author suddenly writes in a prophetic vein. "It is among the first requirements of statesmanship to gauge, as exactly as possible, the amount of effort that a community is able to put forth without exhausting its strength. Are the resources of England equal to the task of fighting Bolshevik Russia, or undertake the defence of Singapore?" he asks. Edward crushed the Welsh people, but in a hundred years they rose up again "in one wild passion of rebellion". The historian thus gives his verdict. "To make a formal conquest of a Celtic people is a very different thing from subduing its natural spirit." The march of conquest goes further even to France, and patriotism is at a premium, but this patriotism does not meet the approval of a modern Cambridge author. He says, "The patriotism thus engendered was not of the kind that tolerates or respects other peoples. On the contrary it took the form of an intensely arrogant collective egotism."

The rise of capitalism begins under Edward III, under the influence of guilds, who start financing kings when they were no longer financed by the money-lenders from the continent. "The twilight of the middle ages" and "the waning of Christianity" begin almost at the same time and the peasant revolts follow suit. These preceded "the Protestant Civilisation".

New learning, new men, new outlook, the passing of custom, the origin of capitalism, "Within one room both large and big, there stood two hundred looms full strong",—this is how the author introduces the reader to the beginnings of the Protestant Civilisation. "Slowly, advancing and receding like the tide, comes on this new order of capitalist industry, a state of things in which hoarded power, as abstract and impersonal as a mathematical symbol and as fluid as quick-silver, comes to dominate all."

The chapters on Christian Reformation are an impartial statement of facts that put forward the case of the progressive movement. The decay of

Roman Catholicism is mildly pointed out; Henry VIII is championed as a patriot who "might burst the bond of Rome, but not for one moment did he attempt to burst the bond of the English Constitution". Henry VIII brought about the union with Wales, he made England strong and united, but he was also responsible for the rise of the social aristocracy that accompanied the beginning of capitalism. "A lord is now a being of nobler clay than a ploughman"; these words suggest the beginning of "real social contempt and superiority" which eventually led to the rise of men of great riches, often plundered, "who succeeded in obtaining monopoly of power, now that the church was conquered and the strong king dead".

Like many other English historians, the author is a great admirer of the Elizabethan period and in her he finds "the only woman in history who could have pulled the country through". And yet it is in this same glorious period that there appears the chapter on "the Tragedy of Ireland", with the pertinent remark: "Englishmen who wish to cure themselves of any undue tendency to national arrogance can hardly devise themselves a better penance than a perusal of the history, the real history, of England's dealings with Ireland". After this wise assertion there is an attempt to shift at least some blame off the English shoulders, and the author is not willing "to depict Ireland as a hero-martyr among nations and England as a black-hearted and calculating villain." In true historic tradition the English author refers to "the curse of Irish history—their fundamental indiscipline—has made Irishmen not only the most difficult of people to deal with, but has also contributed to their fatal incapacity for combining among themselves." To India these are familiar words, and if history repeats itself so often in the pages of English experience will it not be better for British authors to seek a more relevant reference to some cause of English history and note their own fatal incapacity to realise the fundamental unity that has existed in all countries except when disturbed by causes that need analysis? The author, however, has done full justice to Ireland in his chapter on "The Enslavement of Ireland", and the condemnation of English politics and methods is complete.

With the collapse of the Tudor regime, and after the crown had lost prestige, the author traces the "impulse to expansion overseas to no government or sect but to a natural and spontaneous impulse in the heart of the nation." "It is by a series of experiments by which England blundered into the beginning of her Empire." And with this beginning of Imperialism, Monarchy with its Divine Right ceases to exist and the role of the Oligarchy begins, brought about by a temporary union of Whigs and Tories.

As English history enters the threshold of the period of the French Revolution, the author is responsible for giving the reader some of the best

chapters of the book which show a new interpretation of history. The pages on "The Spirit of the Laws", "The Cultured Minority", "The Mob", and "Rule Britannia" sum up a most witty criticism of the British civilisation of those days. "It was a time when the majority of Englishmen were profoundly satisfied with themselves and their country. Never had there been so much cant and talk of patriotism, and its shameless abuse led Doctor Johnson to describe patriotism as the last resort of a scoundrel." After nearly two hundred years of experience in Empire management, the author records that in this 18th century England did not "show any measure of fitness for the vast responsibility of a world-wide Empire". It is on such degeneracy that the author finds the rise of an "emotional dawn" and the sinews of progress in Industry and Science.

As the book is dealing with British civilisation, perhaps the author can be excused for dealing so little with American Independence in the few pages on "the loss of an Empire". Perhaps the loss could have even been avoided "but England did not fight like a nation that means to win". India is more fortunate in receiving better attention and the author turns "from one western Empire, which we could not keep, to that greater Empire in the East into the lordship of which the force of circumstances and national character was driving us, half against our will." It will interest Indians to know the viewpoint of a historian of British civilisation of our own achievement in history. The author shows a lamentable lack of interest and knowledge in a people who live so far away from him. He more or less trots out the arguments of Katherine Mayo in a more dignified language. For example, dealing with our idea of government he says: "If a Mohammedan Akbar, or an English Victoria would undertake the business, he had no special sense of grievance, provided he was not troubled in defiance of all custom and precedent." It was on the basis of such mistaken notions that Queen Victoria laid the foundation of the Indian Empire in 1857. Burke, who impeached Warren Hastings, is called a true child of the "Emotional Revival." He judged Hastings uncharitably, and therefore the author justifies his passing the same judgment on Burke.

Passing to the most important period of European History, the French Revolution causes the author to explain the "Non-revolutionary Englishman". The English peasant did not rebel against the Squires because "this lord is at law with his vassals" and because "this squire works with his labourers, and this Duke plays cricket with his gardener". Another reason is given in the pages of "Constitution versus Revolution" in which Burke and Thomas Paine frightened "respectable peoples out of their wits with anything remotely democratic".

Writing on the French Revolution, the author believes that the Republicans could have been easily beaten, they had everything against them, "but they had behind them what their enemies as yet lacked, the impetus of a great idea, and that was decisive. It was hard to beat troops who, when routed all along the line, could be rallied to victory by the mere singing of Marseillaise." The author also feels that moral force was on the side of the revolution. The official mind of England, led by Burke's thinking, induced the country to join hands with the despots, but the people of England were lukewarm, and the fruits of a "half-hearted and absent-minded war were bitter". After the French Revolution England took up arms against Napoleon, but the ordinary Englishman regarded the war "with the detachment of a spectator. His battles were fought by professional armies on alien soil." The war against Napoleon was not over, when England began importing cotton and laying the foundation of the Industrial Revolution. The war was at last won by Wellington who led "the worst army he had ever commanded". With the fall of Napoleon, "the League of Despots" came into being and the majority of readers will not be in agreement with the author regarding the part played by England "in torpedoing" this concert that was organised to bring lasting peace to Europe. Evaluating the wars with Napoleon the author bluntly puts it thus "We have a right to be proud of the bravery of the British and Irish poor we hired to fight our battle, . . . but it would be well if we were also to regard the sum total of all this butchery and squalid horror, . . ."

The Industrial Revolution, instead of mitigating these horrors, brought in the most ghastly tortures of exploitation and child labour which are vividly described by the author. And yet once again the author attempts to defend the leaders under whom such system flourished. "The Tory ministers who were now so ensconced in office that it seemed that nothing short of a revolution could unsettle them—were these men king devils of the Hell that was England, selfish and cunning tyrants whose one object it was to maintain themselves and their class in power and luxury?" asks the author; and to this he replies "conscientiously, they performed their duty as they understood it. The country was seething with unrest and their excited imagination was being worked up by agitators for a revolution. They therefore felt themselves constrained to strengthen their hands by maintaining the conditions of martial law in time of peace."

These conditions provided the soil for a New Toryism and Socialism, under men like Peel and Robert Owen, whilst similar conditions in France brought about the second French Revolution and the revolt in Belgium. Riots in England followed in quick succession, but the threat of revolution passed away resulting in the triumph of the bourgeoisie, and "the mob was left

to discover at leisure for whom it had pulled the chestnuts out of the fire." .

As Industrialism triumphed and steam, railroads and steamships brought wealth to England, she created her second Empire out of the indomitable will and adventurousness of the people, and the command of sea power. Missionary and commercial activities, followed by armies and treaties, brought Africa, Australia and India under the British flag. Describing the missionaries, the author says, "These good men . . . were no doubt responsible for an immediate amount of harm, and they were at least partially instrumental in bringing about those two chief Imperial setbacks of the nineteenth century, the great Boer Trek and the Indian Mutiny. Their brains were often as small as their hearts were big; they were guilty of such absurdity as the forcing of European clothes on the natives of tropics, and with childish intolerance they would misrepresent, (and still do, to judge by certain of their publications) often in survilious terms, such venerable faiths as that of the Hindus."

The chapter on "Bureaucracy and Mutiny in India" does fair justice to this country. The author, whilst counting on his fingers the old advantages this country received, recognises that "If India was opened up by the new means of communication, it was largely for exploitation by British capital." He agrees that the railways were a drain on our finances. The Mutiny is described without emotion. The author's analysis of bureaucracy is thorough and far-reaching. He describes it as "a soulless thing working by a complication of rules crushing out imagination and individuality." His description of the bureaucracy is still more real and he reveals that there are at least some Englishmen, liberal though they may be, who are able to see things in their proper perspective. From the Mutiny in India, the pages wend their way into the darkest hour in Ireland. These pages are full of anguish and depict the feelings and sufferings of the Irish people with sympathy, and describe the rise of the Young Ireland Movement.

The rise of Germany after the French Revolution of 1848 under Bismarck and the military philosopher Clausewitz, aided by Moltke and Roon, aiming at German unity and German efficiency begins a new period in European history. England quietly stood aside when German armies marched through Paris, and this neutrality the author avoids to explain. The rise of armed Germany led to an armed Europe, it was the end of emotionalism and romanticism, it was the birth of stark realism which England could only watch, and where England could not lead either under Tory or even under a Gladstonian Liberal rule. The author does not admit it, but the Revolution of 1848, the rise of Prussian Militarism, or the appearance of Karl Marx did not affect, or was not allowed to affect, England, and hence initiative and leadership from now on passed out of the hands of complacent Victorian England.

What was true in politics, was also true in the industrial world. Under Disraeli England passed to a new Toryism, a well defined Imperialism and a mere vision of Anglo-Saxons spreading themselves over the earth. From Disraeli to Kipling and thence to 1914, the author passes quickly. A hundred pages deal with the last phases of British Imperialism, its founders, its methods and its achievements. The pages reveal a mild pride and exultation, extensive quotations from Kipling's statements of facts with little criticism and hardly any condemnation. The History of England from 1860 to 1900 is nothing but the history of British Imperialism, of the struggle in Africa and the expansion in Egypt, and of the struggle with the Boers. During this period the author recognises "that whereas the prosperity of the capitalist class continued, on the whole, to increase, that of the wage earning class did so no longer but probably to some extent declined." As an antidote to this comes Karl Marx and the author gives a brief, but unprejudiced analysis of his principles. Socialism does not appeal to England and "The First International quickly flickered out, and socialism was hardly enough thought of to provide a joke or a bogey." The story of British socialism, told in a few pages, from the Fabians to 1914, is a story of meek idealism, tame strikes, and some achievements.

To Indians, the chapter on "Bande Matram" will be interesting. It is the story of India from Gladstone to 1914. The story is told in the usual sympathetic phraseology of an academic professor of history. Many pages are devoted to Indian spiritualism, the origin of the Congress under English leadership is mentioned, and the social problems and communal disharmony are pointed out. The author admits "the policy of the government to divide and rule, relying particularly upon Mohamedan loyalty against Hindu unrest."

The last three hundred pages on the whole compare unfavourably with the rest of the book. It almost appears that the author is unable to grasp the rapid speed of events between 1900 and 1914. The greatest upheavals in the world of thought, politics and economics are missed and the book closes with a tired note that breathes more or less of a decline of British civilisation. (There is no explanation about the author's sudden end of a history in 1914 when his book is published in 1938, after 24 eventful years.)

On the whole, the Englishman seems to be so engrossed in his own England, and his world perspective is so dominated by his own achievements, that he fails to realise the real role his civilisation is playing in the midst of a greater world civilisation. After the Industrial Revolution, and after 1870 and Victorian England, the decline of British civilisation is so evident in the fields of philosophy and industry, and political thought and government. Achievements on the fields of battle and the laboratory are mediocre, and the

reader is only compelled to read a story of interesting developments from the early days of Normans and Danes to the end of 1918 as a story of Kings and Parliaments, conquests and adventures, which built up a loosely cemented Empire in which forces of disintegration are more evident than the achievements of unity of purpose and idealism.

The Agaria. BY VERRIER ELWIN. Foreword by SARAT CHANDRA ROY. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1942. XXXVI+292 pages, 36 illustrations, 44 figures in the text and 5 maps. Rs. 12-8.

Verrier Elwin's book on the Agaria, the aboriginal iron-smelters and blacksmiths of the Central Indian belt, ranks among the most important contributions to the ethnology of this country. It pictures an ancient village-industry in its social and mythological setting and describes the psychological reactions of primitive craftsmen to the changes which in recent years have revolutionized rural economy. The Agaria, who appear to be the descendants of the legendary Asura, are scattered over a large area extending from the Central Provinces to the Ranchi and Palaman Districts of Bihar. Though they live everywhere in symbiosis with either aboriginals such as Gonds and Baigos or with Hindu populations, they have preserved a distinctive social organization characterized by totemistic exogamous divisions, and an extensive mythology which explains and sanctions every phase in the process of working iron and forms, in Elwin's words, "the root and life of the religious and economic structure of Agaria society". It is mainly due to the legacy of their myths and legends that the Agaria consider their craft not only as the means of earning their livelihood but as a sacred vocation and mission; "they believe that they were put into the world to do iron-work and that it is dangerous and futile for them to leave it." But in spite of this emotional attachment to their ancient craft many Agaria have been forced by economic necessity from their furnaces and smithies, and these lead to-day the precarious existence of agricultural labourers.

For the student of social science and chapters on the Agaria's income and expenditure and on the decline of their industry are of particular interest. Elwin has made intensive inquiries into the earnings of the Agaria in various districts, and those familiar with the difficulties of assessing the budgets of a population relying mainly on barter will appreciate the labour involved in this investigation.

The rise of great modern mining and steel industries in India has not relieved the distress among the old iron-smelters, since only an infinitely small number of the widely dispersed primitive craftsmen found employment in these new enterprises. To most of the iron-smelters the decline of their old craft

has meant not only impoverishment and the loss of economic independence, but also the collapse of their social and religious institutions. For as the fire burns down in their furnaces, so dies the cult of their gods, and the traditions and myths that have inspired their lives lose the vitalizing force.

All those who know India's aborigines and have witnessed the cultural stagnation following the break-up of their traditional economic systems and the disappearance of the crafts that lent distinction to their peculiar cultures will agree with Elwin when he deplores the decay of the Agaria's iron-industry: "The collapse of the cottage industries of India is one of the most disastrous results of that great country's contact with the industrial world. The death of material culture brings idleness, dullness, immorality and hunger. Compare the ordinary Indian village with the peasant communities of Africa and the South Seas, in the former is dirt, drabness, mediocrity, in the latter, life, colour, movement, variety, the strong excitement of creative work. In this general decay of simple useful arts which made poor people 'happy, busy, and prosperous, there is none more tragic than the collapse of the village iron-smelting industry."

If the ancient village-industries of India are to survive, detailed inquiries into the craftsmen's needs and the study of the potentialities for improvements of their technique are indispensable for the guidance of governments and private bodies in all attempts to support and revive the old crafts. Elwin believes that expert instructors could greatly enhance the efficiency of the Agaria's methods and thus help them to hold their own in competition with factory iron. By such assistance and the reduction of taxes it may be possible to arrest a process which in other parts of India has already led to the extinction of the smelting industry.

C. VON FURER-HAIMENDORF

Planning for America. BY G. B. GALLOWAY AND ASSOCIATES. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1941. Pp. 713. \$4.00.

As the war uproots the functions of the old world, it leads thinkers of many nations to plan the future on a more scientific basis. America, next to Soviet Russia, plays perhaps the greatest role in the making of a new civilisation, and on the whole being mainly removed from the theatre of war, she has the best opportunity to give quiet thought to planning. Besides, America in the pre-war world can be said to have reached the highest mark of prosperity and industrial and scientific progress, and therefore it may be reasonably expected that she is more competent to plan than any other country.

The book is written in seven parts: 1. Nature and psychological aspects of planning. 2. Planning of raw materials. 3. All other aspects

of economic planning. 4. Social Planning. 5. Area planning—national, regional, state and local. 6. Planning for defence. 7. Miscellaneous.

The scheme on the whole is sound so far as the division of the major problem of planning into sub-divisions is concerned, but our attention is mainly drawn to the lack of emphasis on political planning. The entire planning for the future is based on the acceptance of thirteen fundamental assumptions which were accepted by all those who have contributed to the plan contained in the book. The thirteen assumptions are generally based on a proper understanding of existing American trends—curiously enough only political and economic—recognising the inherent defects of capitalism. The three most important of the thirteen assumptions declare (1) “that private enterprise must be stimulated and public enterprise must be expanded to take up the slack in employment;” (2) “that we must streamline our government and put a sustaining economy beneath our political structure if the America of To-morrow is to remain democratic;” and (3) “that regardless of fluctuations in party politics, the government will steadily extend its control over the machinery of investment and credit, the management of basic industries, the distribution of the labour force and the direction of foreign trade.”

The assumptions, fundamental as they are, reveal the minds behind liberal planning based on compromise and the principle of modification and continuity. Planning has different meaning for different peoples, and therefore the author defines it as “merely a process of co-ordination, a technique of adopting means to end, a method of bridging the gap between fact-finding and policy-making.” It is the opposite of improvising.

The book therefore starts to plan American life in no radical manner. It is scientific so far as it serves means to an end, and not ideals. The authors recognise that the “forces that have been gathering speed for seventy years have exploded in our time in a world wide revolution”; but the planning that is suggested at the end of the greatest revolution in world history does not rise up to the necessity of facing forces that are likely to be present when the war is over.

The fundamental principles that guide this planning are mediocre and materialistic. They want “to avoid competing ideologies and alienisms”. The plan is merely meant to support a decent and healthy level of life. In this matter “what touches all, must be decided by all”. The authors seem generally to accept the principles laid down by G. D. H. Cole in “Economic Planning”, and by Eugene Stanley in “Economic Planning and Free Institutions”. To these principles are added others of scientific management which are always so typical of American economic life.

Mentioning the innumerable state, public and private agencies for

planning that exist in America for geo-physical as well as socio-economic planning, a healthier and a more universal co-ordination under a centralised body is suggested. Under such a scheme Direction and Policy come from Washington, administration is decentralised in states and regions, and execution and operation are reserved for local bodies. The methods of planning suggested in the book are interesting. The authors give a typical State Master Plan and a National Production Plan.

The chapter "Land Planning" suggests basic issues of land policy and suggests ways of economic classification whilst theoretical discussions on the political aspect of land possession as private property are avoided. Further chapters deal with the planning of water resources, energy resources and the organisation of scientific resources. Inventions and technology play an important part in the suggested American plan.

An important aspect of any economic plan is the method of obtaining finance for the execution of the entire plan. This is done by "planning of savings and capital formation to achieve and maintain a high level of national income" at the same time preventing unemployment. The concentration of personal incomes and business profits, heavy taxation, and institutionalisation of savings are recommended.

The planning of employment in a capitalist society of the above type is bound to be difficult. 53,000,000 persons including 13,000,000 women are gainfully employed in the U. S. A. "and of these only 10,000,000 are self employed and the rest work for hire." The burden of planning employment is thrown on the employers, modified by the activities of Trade Unions. The authors, however, accept the principle of State interference, mentioning that the results of New Deal methods to redress the ills of the free competitive system are problematic. The unemployment problem seems to baffle the authors. They mention that "the most terrifying illogicality that we have always lived with is the existence of unemployment and poverty in the midst of plenty and the desperate need of millions of our population for the elemental goods and service necessary to maintain life on a decent level". To overcome this situation efforts have been made by government, but however well intentioned "they too are the result of only finite wisdom" . . . "and experience will dictate the need of persistent modification of present methods".

As unsatisfactory as the suggested solution of unemployment, is the treatment of the problem of income distribution and consumption. As a fundamental principle, the authors want to maintain the families in their present income levels. In a programme for a new world after the war, we yet read of "Relief payments, work projects, farm programmes, social security assistance grants and labour programmes, to increase low incomes". American

thinkers seem to be planning hard to maintain the status quo.

The chapters on public works planning, transport, population policy, improvement of nutrition, planned housing, education, health and recreation will be more useful to the Indian reader who is unaccustomed to intricate problems of planning. On the whole, these issues are less fundamental though in no way less important, and they are dealt with in a disinterested manner.

• The closing chapter "Next Steps Forward" give the general measure of the whole book. Mentioning fifteen major trends of American life, amongst others the authors recognise (1) the trend to action in the face of mass emotion and frustration, (2) the change in the scope of the executive, legislature and judiciary, (3) the extension of the sphere of government, (4) the increase of associate action, (5) the concentration of political and economic power, (6) the conception of property and control as trusteeships, (7) the use of war as an instrument of national policy, (8) the growth of top heavy and uncontrolled bureaucracies and (9) the suppression of creative and critical opinion. On the whole these are all totalitarian tendencies, and it is against such that the plan of the book appears. It is suggested that "the crucial factor in the defence of a nation against possible foreign aggression is precisely the same factor as that needed for achieving the purposes of a democracy in times of peace." To face this problem the following ways are suggested: (1) encouraging a revival of the spirit of enterprise in American industry and preventing the mental paralysis left by the impact of the war, (2) planning fiscal policy to avoid post-emergency deflation, (3) avoiding a post-emergency unemployment crisis by an expansion of public investments in public works and social services, (4) inaugurating a capital credit banking system, (5) relieving a prostrate and impoverished Europe and (6) "*in the interest of American economy* to help revive the economy of Europe in order to recover foreign markets for our exports surplus".

Discussing the fate of the whole world the authors discuss five major possibilities: (1) a stalemate, with half the world with goods and the other half starved out; (2) a German victory leading to the domination of a master nation in each region—Germany over Europe, Britain over the remnants of her Empire, Russia over western Asia, Japan over East and South Asia and U.S.A. over the western hemisphere; (3) "international liberalism" under a British victory; (4) American self-sufficiency and (5) the hope that "U.S.A. might inherit the British Empire in the event of a British defeat". These are the alternatives, it now appears, that will face the world after the war. Liberal opinion in England is working for Anglo-American co-operation—our national interest would seem to live in some combination of, or compromise between "the third and fourth lines of action".

Amongst the guiding principles for a Durable Peace appear (1) a dictated, not a negotiated peace with the complete disarmament of the aggressor nations, (2) peace based on "overwhelming power behind law", (3) the new world order based on justice, security, stability, law and human freedom, (4) terms of peace based on federation in government and autonomy in society and culture, (5) international economic planning of raw materials, industries, foreign trade and investment and for the rational distribution of resources, (6) protection of religious and racial movements, (7) all round reduction of armaments, (8) establishment of democratic processes, (9) guarantee of employment and social security and a world without the proletariat and (10) a beginning made towards creating world citizenship through surrender of national sovereignty.

The authors also mention eight points of British War Aims forged by a Post-war Reconstruction group. The eighth aim states: "In the case of the dependent colonies the creation of a new status—politically by making their administrations answerable for their trusteeship to a suitable international authority, and socially and economically by providing the technical and financial resources to ensure their more rapid development."

Concluding the book, the authors confess that "it is hazardous to construct designs for a new world order . . . Positions taken to-day are rendered untenable to-morrow by the surging sweep of events."

On the whole, except for a vague glimmer of idealism at the end of the book, the plan suggested appears to be thorough in construction and mediocre in conception. This kind of American planning, based on the decayed foundations of an order that has created world catastrophe and calamity will fail to win the appreciation or approval of an awakened and sorrow-stricken world. The book clearly demonstrates the appearance of a new and fundamental problem: To whom should it be left to plan the future of human civilisation? Mr. Galloway and his associates may be fit to plan, but the lack of idealism, vision and imagination to conceive a world bound by close international links of understanding and commonsense, without the domination of fear and exploitation, is lamentable.

B. H. MEHTA

MOBILIZING SOCIAL SERVICES IN WARTIME: A Symposium. Ed. by J. M. Kumarappa. Bombay: Research and Publications Department, The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, 1943. Pp. 160. Price: Cloth Cover Rs. 3/8/-, Paper Cover Rs. 2/8/-.

Although the imminence of war has somewhat receded from the frontiers of India, this little book comes out not a day too soon. The title should

not mislead one into the belief that it merely is education to meet wartime needs. Rather, every writer shows how a temporary war emergency may be transformed into permanent post-war reform. The book deals with such important subjects as Family Security, Food Situation in India, Planning, Nutrition, Refugees and Evacuees, Civilian Morale, Public Health Services, Industrial Welfare, Social Hygiene and Defence Forces, State and Social Services, etc., and the contributors of the different chapters are all leaders in their respective fields.

Under modern conditions there are three groups of people engaged in working for the war aim: the producers, the fighters and the entire civilian population. To maintain a high level of national efficiency in wartime it is necessary to concentrate on the welfare of each of these three groups. While enough thought is being given to external defences, internal services are not receiving adequate attention. The purpose of this book is therefore to create public opinion and to stimulate the Government to put forth a well-organised and effective effort to meet the menace of total war and to help the social services in the country to coordinate their efforts so as to form great arsenals of morale.

Altogether a stimulating book, it should find a good and ready response from all those who are interested in the social and political affairs of this land.

A. J. DASTUR

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